

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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[Redacted]

January 30, 1969

The New York Review  
250 West 57th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10019

To the Editors:

Barrington Moore has done a real service by treating the possibility of revolution in America not as a slogan but as a subject for historical analysis. He has failed, however, to deal with the basic argument of those who see revolution as a real historical possibility.

1) No sensible observer argues that revolution in America is at hand, for precisely the reasons Moore spells out: essentially, the rulers are still able to run society and the ruled have not become desperate enough simply to ignore their authority. Those who believe revolution possible do argue that America's rulers are faced with a series of objective problems with which they seem unable to cope -- problems which, if they persist, will lead to both a weakening of their power and an increase of mass discontent.

a) The United States has built its economy on world dominance through alliances and interventions which now appear to be beyond its resources to maintain.

If it continues to defend this empire, it is faced with all the economic and other problems that have become evident during the Vietnam war. If it allows the empire to dissolve, it is faced with a domino effect that would have major repercussions on the domestic economy. At present, the ruling groups appear unwilling to extricate themselves from this dilemma by following either course vigorously.

b) America's post-war prosperity has depended on its domination of the capitalist economies of Europe, and the consequent suppression of inter-capitalist economic rivalry. The international monetary crises of the past two years are essentially a manifestation of the underlying fact that this imposed unity is now breaking up. Each monetary crisis has been accompanied by dire warnings from the authorities that disunity will lead to economic disaster. There is reason to expect that international competition will increasingly undermine the controlled economy which has circumvented depression in the U.S. for the past 25 years.

c) With the concentration of black people in the inner city, the system has put an impoverished and rebellious group in a strategic location. Its efforts to ameliorate the conditions of this group have been blocked by veto power over social legislation held by small-property and Dixiecrat representatives in the Congress, and by the fact that social investment in the not-for-profit sector reduces the effective demand

available to private industry -- refrigerators and helicopters are profitable for industry, but the poverty program isn't. The demand for the former is the keystone to our general economic prosperity.

d) Finally there is the less definable but equally important crisis of legitimate authority. The official management of the large institutions of the society are increasingly viewed not as the necessary organizers of society, but as a superfluous and irrational 'they'. This has been especially evident with regard to the Presidency under Lyndon Johnson and the university administrations under student attack.

Whether revolution is possible depends on whether the present rulers are able to resolve these problems. The reason revolution has begun to seem a real possibility to some people is the evidence that they cannot. First, the rulers seem to be hopelessly out of touch with reality; it was their star genius, Robert McNamara, who was the key architect of the Vietnam disaster and it was their great political mediator, Lyndon Johnson, who undermined the 20-year-old cold-war unity of the country. Second, the ruling class seems to be unable to pull itself together and follow a coherent class policy to meet the problems it confronts. Business failed to develop a program for solving the American problem in Vietnam long after it was clear to business leaders themselves that the war was both a military disaster and a threat to the international monetary

system. Nor has business developed effective support for such class-conscious efforts to deal with the race crisis as the Urban Coalition.

Of course, the ineffectiveness of ruling class response to these objective problems has not forced a revolutionary crisis on the system yet. But if the problems grow worse and worse, eventually it will. On this question -- the really critical one for determining whether revolution is a real possibility -- Moore says only "In my judgment the system has considerable flexibility and room for maneuver, including strategic retreat."

2) Moore notes the absence in the United States of the traditional revolutionary lower-class base. But he appears to assume without arguing that any deviation from the class configuration which obtained in previous revolutions makes revolution less likely. Those who believe in the possibility of revolution in the United States point out a number of unique aspects of the American class situation which, they argue, make revolution more not less likely.

a) The traditional middle class of businessmen and farmers which has always been the basic mass constituency for the rulers of capitalist society has now become a tiny minority within American society. The overwhelming majority of the society has become proletarianized in the sense that it does not own the means of production but works for others who do.

b) The centralization of poor and impoverished blacks in the central city leads to an extreme vulnerability of the country to direct disruption, through strikes which hit the public services, sabotage to power, water, gas, transport etc., and through other forms of mass action.

c) The rise of a militant movement of educated youth adds a new historical factor which in a number of situations has already played a catalytic role.

d) The industrial working class in the United States has reached a uniquely high standard of consumption, while at the same time retaining much of the insecurity and job oppression to which this class has been traditionally subject. In the event of economic dislocation and mass unemployment, this class would be subject to extreme drops in living standards due to foreclosures on mortgages, car loans, etc. Its political behavior in such circumstances is unpredictable to say the least. <sup>U</sup> It is the significance of these unique factors which will determine whether revolution is possible in the American future.

3) Moore's comments on the dangers of radical revolution presumably are directed toward the New Left, since they are virtually the only people around advocating revolution these days. The New Left has been warned so frequently against the dangers of totalitarianism which lurk in revolution that it hardly bothers any more to make reply, assuming perhaps too facilely that

such warnings are motivated more by a fear of change itself than a fear of totalitarianism. Professor Moore, however, certainly does not need to prove his credentials as an opponent of the status quo, and the New Left should therefore feel obliged to respond to his warning.

a) Moore suggests that "a revolutionary takeover in quasi-Leninist fashion by some tiny but resolute minority" is what "a segment of young American radicals apparently seeks...." Yet anyone familiar with the American New Left knows that it started out with a specific critique and rejection of this concept of revolution, and that organizations which espouse such a view, such as the Progressive Labor Party, have been continuously criticized by the New Left for their approach, which has won little support among young radicals.

b) Moore argues that "a revolution that tries to remodel society against the mores and folkways of the mass of the population must turn to terror and propaganda on a gigantic scale in order to stay in control." It is true that if the revolutionary forces outlawed ham sandwiches and popcorn in movie theaters it would lose favor with the population and might have to resort to terror. But it is difficult to see why a revolution which ended conscription and war taxes, let the workers run their own factories, built decent housing for everyone to live in, and reduced the work week would

need to oppress the population.

c) As always, the final argument against revolution is to point to the horrors of the Russian experience. Moore himself recognizes that Russia was a primitive country with no tradition of popular self-rule whose masses were unable to organize the economy -- but he does not draw the obvious conclusion that entirely different conditions would obtain in an advanced country with a tradition of self-rule like the United States.

d) It is true that revolutionary movements tend toward a centralized authoritarianism when they have no alternative program for organizing society. This is as true for the liberal revolutions Moore defends as the radical revolutions he criticizes -- the English revolution ended with the dictatorship of Cromwell and the French revolution with that of Napoleon. The New Left has put forward participatory democracy as its program precisely because it recognizes that both the revolutionary party and the revolutionary state tend toward authoritarianism. The critics are right in maintaining that the New Left has failed to spell out its concept of how a society based on participation instead of authority would work. But which of them has contributed more to a solution to this problem?

e) Within all recent revolutionary crises, organs for the direct self-government of the masses have developed. The Soviets in Russia; the Workers Councils

in Germany, are classic examples. Whether a revolution results in authoritarian or democratic development, I would suggest, depends primarily on whether these organs and the masses they represent are strong enough to organize society under their own direction. If we don't want authoritarian development of revolutions, the way to combat such tendencies is not -- as Moore suggests -- by somehow incorporating elements of liberal revolution within radical revolution (whatever that means), but rather by seeking to strengthen the organs of self-government which revolutions engender.

If this is in fact the case, then one of Moore's own views would contribute greatly to authoritarian development. A revolutionary mass, he asserts, "cannot take power on its own. For a revolution to take place there must exist some group, such as the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917, that knows what it wants to accomplish and is willing to seize power in the midst of chaos and exercise it ruthlessly to restore order." It is precisely this argument which was used in an effort to justify the destruction of rule by the Soviets in Russia, and which the French Communists used against the workers councils that sprang up in the spring of 1968. While it may well have been true in the Russian context that direct self-government of the masses was impossible to assert, as Moore seems to do, that this is true at all times and all places is simply to give the color of historical inevitability to authoritarian usurpation.

4) In discussing the possibility and desirability of revolution, Professor Moore neglects the most important question: is revolution necessary, not in the sense of inevitable but in the sense of needed? After all, those who advocate revolution do not do so out of an affection for violence, but rather out of a belief that human needs can be met in no other way. Essentially they argue, revolution is necessary for these reasons:

- a) It is the only way to overcome the overwhelming poverty of the underdeveloped world majority and of the poor within the United States -- a poverty perpetuated by the power of America's rulers.
- b) It is the only way to end the domination of the everyday lives of ordinary people in all advanced societies by bureaucratic authoritarian structures.
- c) It is the only way to prevent the eventual outbreak of nuclear war in defense of established interest of one or another great power -- or by accident.

Of course, if these are not the real needs faced by civilization, or if they can be fulfilled without revolutionary change, then revolution is unnecessary. Some of us who believe that it is necessary also believe that others can be as sensitive to their own and civilizations' needs as we are. "If we appear to seek the unattainable," as the Port Huron statement declared, "... then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable."

5) If read against the grain, Professor Moore's article suggests a number of points that those who support the idea of revolution must note.

a) The current radical forces -- essentially militant youth and blocks -- constitute far too narrow a social base for any successful revolution. Only at the point when large sections of the now-conservative population swing over to social opposition can revolution possibly succeed. This is particularly true since only at that point will it be possible to politically neutralize the instruments of violence. The statement of the French police that they would not fire on the workers in the upsurge last spring is an example of the kind of situation in which the overwhelming capacity for violence of the state begins to lose its effectiveness; this can only happen when the classes from which the army and police are drawn have swung against the status quo. Thus, it is essential in the long run that black and youth movements break out of their isolation and seek a broader constituency for change. Premature attempts at disruption lead to disaster.

b) The most devastating social splits tend to be over which social groups are to bear the costs of new social arrangements. Therefore, the key issue on which to split the ruling groups in our society and win the support of subordinate groups for opposition to the powers that be is the attempt to put the burden of paying

for the social crisis on the backs of the lower strata of the population. This is also the only program which can reunite the poor and the working class. So far, the left has been very weak in developing an economic program which draws on this basic social conflict.

c) Radicals must recognize the great differences Moore points out between urban and peasant revolutions, and not assume that they can apply the concept of "liberated territories" with their independent economic, military, and geographical base to the "counter-communities" of an urban culture. Instead, they must look toward some equivalent of Rosa Luxemburg's idea of antagonistic engagement with the society -- a movement which builds on the friction generated at every point at which the needs of the people are attacked by the interests of the rich and powerful.

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d) Much has been made of the overwhelming power of modern societies, but Moore's article makes clear the real point of their vulnerability -- a popular movement which gains control over essential community services. Moore may consider such action "the anarcho-syndicalist dream of the general strike and revolution" drawn from "the museum of social history," but such mass strikes have been the core of every Western revolutionary movement from 1905 to May, 1968. As Moore's argument indicates, the success of such a movement depends on whether the workers in essential services

join it, and whether they participate in the democratic reorganization of the society. ]

Yours sincerely,

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1. **What is the name of the author?**

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE Atlanta	OFFICE OF ORIGIN Washington Field	CONFIDENTIAL	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/31/73 - 4/4 - 5/24/73
TITLE OF CASE <u>INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES, aka</u> Institute for Southern Studies		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted]	TYPED BY b6 b7C
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - RA	

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA [redacted] 10/11/72.

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LEAD

ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GA.

Will continue to follow and report on the activities of the Institute for Southern Studies (ISS) in Atlanta. (u) *do*

INFORMANTS

AT T-1

Instant report pages  
3, 4, 6, 7, and 8

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(u) *do*

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

NONE

ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR  YES  NO  
PENDING PROSECUTION  
OVER SIX MONTHS  YES  NO

CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
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AND FIELD OFFICES  
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100-447935-183

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AT T-2

Used to characterize IPS.

AT T-3

Instant report pages 4, 6,  
7, and 8

AT T-4

Instant report page 7

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ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to protect  
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The following information is set forth regarding the  
status of cases of people mentioned in this report as being  
affiliated with the Atlanta ISS:

[redacted] Investigation  
[redacted] was conducted on [redacted] and a  
summary report was submitted on [redacted] him but he was not recommended for  
the ADEX. The case on [redacted] is  
presently closed in Atlanta as his  
activities do not warrant his in-  
clusion on the Atlanta ADEX. (u)

[redacted] Bufile 100-473924. An investigation  
of [redacted] was conducted and a sum-  
mary report was submitted by Atlanta  
on 10/5/72, but his activities did  
not warrant his being placed on the  
ADEX and the case was subsequently (u)  
closed.

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Member of Subject Organization

[redacted] Bufile unknown. An investigation of  
[redacted] was conducted by the Atlanta  
Office and a summary report submitted  
on 7/28/72; however, she was not rec-  
ommended for the ADEX and the case (u)  
was closed.

G.A.  
D.C.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Atlanta

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Atlanta b6  
Date: May 31, 1973 b7C

Field Office File #: 100-7852 Bureau File #: 100-447935

Title: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Synopsis: Institute for Southern Studies (ISS) in Atlanta, Ga., is affiliated with Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) in Washington, D. C., and at present are involved in research dealing with prisoners' rights, justice in trials, uniformity of sentencing of people convicted of crimes, and a union for prisoners. ISS has office space with ACLU at 88 Walton Street, N.W., Atlanta. [redacted]

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reportedly are leadership of Atlanta ISS. Membership of ISS estimated at 10-16; Atlanta ISS has no newspaper or publication; ISS is reportedly funded by parent organization, IPS, in Washington, D. C., and through donations. ISS in past has worked with ACLU and TGSB on programs or issues. SDS/WSA and PLP in Atlanta have used ISS for research material. (u)

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DETAILS

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS), ALSO KNOWN AS INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES (ISS)

I. ORGANIZATIONAL DATA

A. Aims and Purposes

[Source AT T-1] ~~(u)~~ U

[Source advised on April 6, 1973, that the ISS in Atlanta, Georgia, is a group that works on research issues dealing with prisoners' rights, justice in trials, uniformity of sentencing of people convicted of crimes, and a union for prisoners. (u)]

IPS also known as ISS

[AT T-2 advised in July, 1970, that] IPS had opened an office at 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia, and thereafter reported that IPS was allegedly studying the effects of war on the southern economy, that it was conducting research on war-related industries in the South and that its purpose was to identify war related industrial contractors in the Atlanta area to determine the part played by these contractors in what they termed the "military industrial complex". (u)]

[In February, 1970, this same source reported that the Atlanta IPS was affiliated with the IPS, headquartered in Washington, D. C., and in Atlanta the group was being referred to as the ISS. (u)]

The IPS has been characterized in an article by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D. C., weekly newspaper, "The Examiner." She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left. (u)

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[Source AT T-3] ~~u~~

[Source related on April 12, 1973] that the present aim or goal of the Atlanta ISS appears to be in working for a reform in prisons, changes in court procedures, and the legal structure to aid and assist prisoners. (u)

B. Headquarters

[Source AT T-1] ~~u~~

[This source reported on April 6, 1973, that ISS is associated with and has office space with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) at 88 Walton Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. (u)]

[Source AT T-3] ~~u~~

[This source on April 12, 1973, indicated that ISS has an office at 88 Walton Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. (u)]

C. Leadership

[Source AT T-1] ~~u~~

[Source reported on April 6, 1973, that [redacted] was then one of the leaders of the ISS in Atlanta, Georgia. (u)]

GENE GUERRERO

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[AT T-2 advised on November 15, 1968, that [redacted] was one of the people who organized the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC) in 1964, and [redacted] as of 1968, was still a (u) member of SSOC.]

SSOC

The SSOC is a now defunct fraternal affiliate of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) which espoused and defended a pro-communist and anti-U. S. position concerning U. S. domestic (u) and foreign policy.

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Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SDS was founded during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan, and in the 1960s functioned as the leading New Left campus-based student organization in the United States. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy", SDS moved to a radical-revolutionary position, with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. Internal factionalism produced a split during the SDS National Convention in June, 1969, which resulted in the following three factions: Weatherman; Worker Student Alliance (WSA); and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The Weatherman and RYM are no longer affiliated with SDS. The WSA continues to use the name SDS and maintains its national headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. (u)

Weatherman

Weatherman, formerly a faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), controlled the SDS National Office from June, 1969, until its closing in February, 1970. Weatherman then entered an underground status and adopted a tactic of "strategic sabotage", with police and military installations designated as primary targets. (u)

Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM)

RYM, a pro-Communist revolutionary youth organization, was organized in 1969, first as a faction within the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), then as a separate group with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. RYM was unsuccessful in attracting support and by mid-1970, it was practically defunct. (u)

Worker Student Alliance (WSA)

Worker Student Alliance (WSA), a faction of SDS, was expelled from SDS in June, 1969, by the then dominant Weatherman faction, but continued to use the name SDS and opened an office in Cambridge, Massachusetts. WSA aligned ideologically with the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and, in February, 1971, moved to Chicago, Illinois, where it opened the SDS National Office at 1225 South Wabash Street. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was founded in 1962 by individuals expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for following the Chinese Communist line. Its objective is the establishment of a militant working-class movement based on Marxism-Leninism and MAO Tse-tung thought. (u)

[Source AT T-3] ~~u~~

[Source mentioned on April 12, 1973] ~~u~~ that from what he has learned, [ ] were part of the staff or leadership of ISS in Atlanta, Georgia. (u)

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b7c

HOWARD ROMAINE  
AND SUE THRASHER

[AT T-2 indicated in February 1971] ~~u~~ that [ ] were formerly active in a leadership capacity with the SSOC. (u)

D. Membership

[Source AT T-1] ~~u~~

On April 6, 1973, source indicated that the estimated membership of the ISS in Atlanta was about 16 people. (u)

[Source AT T-3] ~~u~~

This source, on April 12, 1973, mentioned that the membership of the Atlanta ISS was ten. ~~tu~~ ~~u~~

E. Publications

[Source AT T-1] ~~u~~

The above source reported on April 6, 1973, that the Atlanta ISS' has no newspaper or publication that it issues, but it does prepare various research papers on various topics. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT 100-7852

Source AT T-3 ~~U~~

On April 12, 1973, source related that the ISS in Atlanta does not put out any newspaper, magazine, or any type publication. (u)

II. FINANCES

Source AT T-1 ~~U~~

AT T-1 stated on April 6, 1973, that he did not know the source of the Atlanta ISS funds, but they do seem to have adequate money. (u)

Source AT T-3 ~~U~~

Source indicated on April 12, 1973, that the ISS reportedly is funded by its parent organization, the IPS in Washington, D. C.; plus it receives some additional money through donations made to the group. (u)

III. CONNECTIONS WITH  
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Source AT T-1 ~~U~~

Source mentioned on April 6, 1973, that the only known connection that ISS in Atlanta has with other organizations is that it works occasionally with the ACLU on some program or project. (u)

Source AT T-4 ~~U~~

Source indicated on April 10, 1973, that in the recent past, the Atlanta SDS/WSA and PLP have used the ISS for research material, with the last such instance when the Atlanta PLP was doing some research on a Government project on venereal disease (VD) that the PLP was opposed to. ~~U~~ (u)

Source AT T-3 ~~U~~

This source mentioned on April 12, 1973, that the ISS in Atlanta is an organization that is affiliated with the IPS in Washington, D. C. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT 100-7852

ISS in the past had been primarily involved in doing research and research papers on the military industrial complex in the south, but now they seemed to have broadened their areas of concern to do research on prison reform, court reform, and reform of the legal structure. (u)

In addition, the Atlanta ISS in the past has worked with the ACLU and also "The Great Speckled Bird" (TGSB) on various issues. (u)

TGSB

TGSB is an underground type newspaper published in Atlanta, Georgia. (u)

IV. ACTIVITIES

[Source AT T-1] (u)

U

Source stated on April 6, 1973, that the Atlanta ISS has no regular type meetings or affairs and most of their discussions are held at informal get togethers. In addition, ISS has a research library which is available to interested persons or groups. At present, the main activities or programs of the Atlanta ISS are to issue papers, articles, et cetera, on prisoners' rights, justice in trials, uniformity of sentencing of prisoners, and a union for prisoners. (u)

[Source AT T-3] (u)

U

Source mentioned on April 12, 1973, that the Atlanta ISS does not hold any meetings but merely handles its work on a continuing basis from day to day at its office and any policy or discussions are handled on an informal get together basis. ISS is not known to have any other activities such as social events, dinners, et cetera. (u)

*CONFIDENTIAL*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airtel

6/6/73

To: SAC, Washington Field

From: Acting Director, FBI

UNSUBS:

1 - Mr. MacFarlane  
3 - Mr. Shackelford  
1 - 100-447935 (IPS)  
1 - [redacted]

[redacted] VICTIMS

CR

Enclosed herewith are two copies of a letter received at Bureau Headquarters from Mitchell Rogovin, Esquire of the Arnold and Porter Law Firm, Washington, D. C., and one copy of the Bureau's reply to Rogovin. Mr. Rogovin, Counsel for the Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C., and [redacted]

[redacted] infer possible civil rights violations based on alleged patterns of illegal surveillance including illegal entry by law enforcement agencies. (u)

Immediately contact [redacted] obtain from them any additional facts they may have in their possession relating to the allegations set forth in Mr. Rogovin's letter. Handle any civil rights violations in accordance with Section 27, Volume II, Manual of Instructions. Any other violation reported should be handled in accordance with existing Bureau instructions. (u)

In the course of your investigation resolve the identity of individual to whom D. C. tag [redacted] was issued and whether or not he is employed in a law enforcement capacity. (u)

For your information, [redacted] is identical to [redacted] subject of your file, 100-45298. (u)

Enclosures - 3

JJMF:1rd  
(7)

100-447935-

NOT RECORDED  
44 JUN 28 1973

*sent as*

**DUPLICATE YELLOW**

5-1-3 1973  
5-1-3 1973

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/80

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 44-1

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b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

*Emm*  
Mitchell Rogovin, Esq.  
Arnold & Porter  
1229 Nineteenth Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

June 6, 1973

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. MacFarlane  
1 - Special Investigative  
Division [redacted]  
3 - Mr. Shackelford (u)  
① - 100-447935 (IPS)  
1 - [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. Rogovin:

*All SPPW*

This will acknowledge receipt of your  
letter dated May 25, 1973, regarding the Institute  
for Policy Studies in Washington, D. C. (u)

[redacted] will be inter-  
viewed for specific facts as to a possible violation  
of their civil rights, as referred to in your letter.  
The results of their interviews and any inquiries con-  
ducted will be furnished to the U. S. Department of Justice,  
for a determination as to whether any possible violation  
of Federal laws exists. (u)

Regarding your inquiry for information on  
electronic surveillances by Federal agencies, since  
this is an inquiry that falls within the purview of the  
Department of Justice, may I suggest you direct  
your inquiry to the Attorney General, U. S. Depart-  
ment of Justice, Washington, D. C. (u)

Sincerely yours,

Classified by 6/19  
Exempt from CDS, Category 2, 3  
Date of Declassification 10/1/77  
FBI/DOJ  
11/1/77  
William D. Ruckelshaus  
Acting Director

100-447935-

NOT RECORDED  
145 JUN 12 1973

1 - Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division Enclosure (copy of  
incoming)  
1 - Assistant Attorney General  
Civil Rights Division Enclosure (copy of  
incoming)  
1 - Washington Field (By Separate Communication)

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b7C

~~SECRET~~

6/17/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO REASON-FCIM II.

DATE OF REVIEW 6/6/93

54 JUN 12 1973  
(103)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Mitchell Rogovin, Esq.

NOTE: Attorney Mitchell Rogovin, by letter 5/25/73, identifies himself as counsel for the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). He reports a recent attempted burglary of the Institute on May 24 last and that the burglary possibly perpetrated by individuals described as plainclothesmen or detectives. He relates that over the past four years the Institute has been advised on a number of occasions it has been surveilled by Federal and local law enforcement agencies including but not limited to illegal surveillance and breaking and entering. He concludes his letter by requesting an investigation of not only the burglaries, but rather what appears to be a pattern of illegal surveillances including illegal entry by law enforcement agencies. He also requested that he be advised re any electronic surveillances of the Institute, its officials or employees, or those associated with the organization. Attorney Rogovin identified [redacted] as (u) the complainant in this matter.

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WFO is being instructed to interview [redacted] and handle results appropriately. In accordance with our procedures in such inquiries, Attorney Rogovin is being referred to the Department of Justice for an answer to his question re electronic surveillances. Regarding [redacted], our files reflect he is [redacted] of the IFS which has been characterized as the "Think Factory" of the new left which helps train extremists who incite violence and whose research serves as cover-up for intrigue and political agitation. It exerts considerable influence through contacts, educators, Congress and labor. (100-454040-10) Our indices also indicate that conversations of a [redacted] (probably identical to Attorney Rogovin's [redacted])

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1. all in Washington, D. C. He was also

and IPS are currently the subjects of an IS-Revolutionary Activities investigation supervised by Division 5 (100-447935), Intelligence Division. Rogovin was former Chief Counsel for IRS and also AAG of the Tax Division. Department is being furnished copies of Mr. Rogovin's letter and our reply, and informed we are interviewing [redacted] (X)

11

- 2 -

THURMAN ARNOLD (1891-1948)  
PAUL A. PORTER  
MILTON V. FREEMAN  
NORMAN DIAMOND  
WILLIAM L. ROGOVIN  
CAROLYN E. AGGER  
G. DUANE VITEN  
REED MILLER  
ABE KRASH  
WILLIAM O. ROGERS  
B. HOWELL HILL  
JULIUS M. GREENBERG  
EDGAR H. BRENNER  
DENNIS O'LYONS  
STUART J. LAND  
ROBERT E. HENZSTEIN  
JAMES R. MCALPIN  
MITCHELL ROGOVIN  
WALTER J. ROCKLER  
CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR.  
WERNER KRONSTEIN  
PAUL D. BERGER  
JOHN T. RIGBY  
JAMES P. FITZPATRICK  
MELVIN G. GANBOW  
BRUCE L. MONTGOMERY  
JOHN D. HAWKE, JR.  
MURRAY H. BRING  
DAVID A. REINHOLD  
GERALD M. STEIN  
MELVIN SPAETH  
DAVID R. KENTON  
DAVID H. LLOYD

ARNOLD & PORTER

1229 NINETEENTH STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Mr. McNamee \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Helm \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE: (202) 223-3200  
CABLE: "ARFORO" \_\_\_\_\_  
TELEX: 88-2733

Mr. Feit	✓
Mr. Baker	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Cleveland	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Geisinger	✓
Mr. Jenkins	✓
Mr. Marshall	✓
Mr. Miller (S)	✓
Mr. Soyars	✓
Mr. Thompson	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Baise	✓
Mr. Barnes	✓
Mr. Bowers	✓
Mr. Herington	✓
Mr. Connolly	✓
Mr. Mintz	✓
Mr. Eardley	✓
Mrs. Hogan	✓

MARTIN RIGBY  
OF COUNSEL

June 1, 1973

Michel Rogovin

ARNOLD & PORTER

1229 NINETEENTH ST. N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Jerry V. Wilson  
Chief of Police  
Government of the District  
of Columbia  
Metropolitan Police Department  
Office of the Chief of Police  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Re: The Institute for Policy Studies  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.

Dear Chief Wilson:

We very much appreciate the spirit of your May 31 letter and will be in further touch with respect to the specifics requested therein. In the meantime,

stand ready to be of any further assistance to your (u) people.

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With respect to the broader investigation requested, we will be submitting to you shortly affidavits and other evidentiary leads regarding the pattern of illegal surveillance we referred to in my May 25 letter.

100-44793-185

Sincerely,

Michel Rogovin

cc: William J. Buckley, Acting Director, FBI  
John E. Roche, Asst. Director

June 20 1973

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10 JUN 15 1973

ARNOLD & PORTER

1229 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TELEPHONE: (202) 872-0700  
CABLE: "ARPOPO"  
TELEX: 88-2732

May 25, 1973

THURMAN ARNOLD (1891-1968)  
PAUL A. PORTER  
MILTON V. FREEMAN  
NORMAN DIAMOND  
WILLIAM L. MCGOVERN  
CAROLYN E. AGGER  
G. DUANE VIETH  
REED MILLER  
ABE KRASH  
WILLIAM D. ROGERS  
B. HOWELL HILL  
JULIUS H. GREENSHAN  
EDGAR H. BRENNER  
DENNIS G. LYONS  
STUART J. LAND  
ROBERT E. HERZSTEIN  
JAMES H. MALLEY  
MITCHELL ROGOVIN  
WALTER J. REED  
CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR.  
WERNER KRONSTEIN  
PAUL B. BERGER  
JAMES F. FITZPATRICK  
HELVIN C. GARDOW  
BRUCE L. MONTGOMERY  
JOHN D. HAWKE, JR.  
MURRAY H. BRING  
DANIEL A. REZNECK  
GERALD M. STERN  
HELVIN SPAETH  
DAVID R. KENTOFF  
DAVID H. LLOYD  
RICHARD E. TAYLOR  
PETER R. BOLAXLEY  
ALEXANDER E. BENNETT  
RICHARD J. WERTHEIMER  
HARRY HUGO  
JACK L. LIPSON

JEROME I. CHAPMAN  
MYRON P. CURZAN  
JAMES A. DOBKIN  
STEPHEN L. HESTER  
MICHAEL N. JOHN  
BROOKSLEY LANDAU  
JEFFREY D. BAUMAN  
PATRICK F. J. MACRORY  
ANDREW S. KRULWICH  
IRVIN B. NATHAN  
ROBERT H. WINTER  
NANCY K. MINZ  
NORTON F. TENNILLE, JR.  
ROBERT D. ROSENBAUM  
J. BRADWAY BUTLER  
FREDERICK D. ABRAMSON  
RICHARD L. HUBBARD  
KENNETH A. LETZLER  
DOUGLAS A. ROBINSON  
STEPHEN M. SACKS  
THOMAS J. SPOLICH  
MICHAEL A. SPONER  
G. PHILIP NOVAK  
DAVID BONDERMAN  
STEVEN P. LOCKHART  
JEFFREY A. BURT  
CARY H. SHERMAN  
JUDITH H. STEIN  
SIMON LAZARUS III  
IRVING D. YOSKOWITZ  
RONALD G. NATHAN  
GARY G. GERLACH  
LANNY J. DAVIS

PAUL S. RYERSON  
THOMAS O. NURMI  
JOHN H. FEODERS

Hon. William D. Ruckelshaus  
Acting Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Justice Department  
Washington, D. C. 20535

Re: The Institute for Policy Studies  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.

Dear Mr. Ruckelshaus:

As counsel for the Institute for Policy Studies, we wish to disclose the following information. On the evening of May 24th, [REDACTED] of the Institute for Policy Studies, [REDACTED]

[redacted] received an anonymous telephone call at their home at 1:35 a.m. indicating that two plainclothes-men had entered the Institute for Policy Studies at the above-captioned address shortly before the call. [redacted] called the police, while [redacted] left his home for the Institute. Within thirty minutes from the call, [redacted] appeared at the Institute where he was subsequently met by a Metropolitan Police Officer at approximately 2:05 a.m. A search of the premises by [redacted] and the police officer did not reveal any individuals within.

While [redacted] was at the Institute, [redacted] received another phone call from the same who, once again, did not identify himself. (u) At time, he indicated that the two individuals,

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/80 BY

10 JUN 19 1973

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feel to 6/17/73

Wm. D. Ruckelshaus  
May 25, 1973  
Page Two

who he referred to as detectives, had left the Institute before either [redacted] or the police arrived and departed in a [redacted]-colored car with a District of Columbia (u) license No. [redacted]

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The automobile, appears to be registered in the name of [redacted]

[redacted] The reference in the above paragraph to "plainclothesmen" and "detectives" is the language of the anonymous caller. Our client, has no information other than that which is set forth above. (u) WASHINGTON, DC

Over the past four years, the Institute has been advised on a number of occasions that it has been surveilled by federal and local law enforcement agencies including, but not limited to, electronic surveillance and breaking and entering. Up until recent months, we have declined to press the issue of violations of the civil rights of this organization and its members. Recent developments tend to indicate that refraining from bringing such indignities to the attention of the authorities is not consistent with Constitutional safeguards and is indeed harmful to law enforcement. (u)

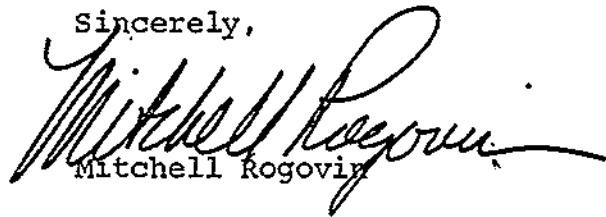
We would appreciate it, therefore, if you cause an investigation to be conducted -- not simply into an alleged burglary -- but rather into what appears to be a pattern of illegal surveillance including illegal entry by law enforcement agencies. We would also appreciate information regarding any electronic surveillance. Such an investigation should also include any evidence of electronic surveillance of the Institute, its officers, or employees or those associated with the organization. (u)

ARNOLD & PORTER

Wm. D. Ruckelshaus  
May 25, 1973  
Page Three

Because this matter may well transcend jurisdictional lines, a similar letter is being sent to the Chief of Police, Washington, D. C. (u)

Sincerely,



Mitchell Rogovin

cc: Hon. Robert Kastenmeier

Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sevres \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boise \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Barnes \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Connelly \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. M. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Eardley \_\_\_\_\_ b6  
Mrs. Hogan \_\_\_\_\_ b7C

May 31, 1973

Mr. Mitchell Rogovin  
ARNOLD & PORTER  
1229 Nineteenth Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Rogovin:

This will reply to your letter of May 25, requesting that this department undertake an investigation of any evidence of electronic surveillance of The Institute for Policy Studies, its officers or employees or those associated with the organization. You also asked that we investigate an alleged pattern of illegal surveillance including illegal entry by federal and local law enforcement agencies.

At the outset I should make three points.

Firstly, as I am certain you know, surveillance is not criminally unlawful unless it involves such activities as unlawful entry or use of electronic devices without proper authority.

Secondly, a tentative inquiry of federal agencies has elicited a response that they, like this department, do not consider the activities of The Institute to be of sufficient significance to warrant any surveillance of that organization or its associates beyond cursory review of whatever publications are publicly available.

Thirdly, because a variety of individuals and organizations for JUN 14 1973 reasons sometimes justified and sometimes paranoid, suspect that they are subjected to illegal forms of surveillance, it is not the

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JUN 25 1973

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policy of this department to routinely investigate such suspicions without some concrete evidence of probable law violation. I make this point so you will understand that we will investigate any allegations which seem to have some concrete basis, but will not engage in extensive investigations of matters of mere suspicion. For these matters, or for such activities as electronic "cleansing" of premises, your clients will need to employ private investigative services. (u)

With those caveats, we will undertake an investigation of illegal surveillance of The Institute, beginning with the specific incident referred to in your letter. I assume that [redacted] will be available for interview in that connection. I have directed that this investigation begin without delay. (u)

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For the broader investigation you have requested, I would appreciate your furnishing me reports of specific incidents, with as much detail as practical, which would indicate acts or patterns of illegal surveillance; these reports should include names of individuals who will be available for follow-up interviews and for court testimony, if needed. We also will need a listing of the officers, employees, or those associated with The Institute, including their office and residence addresses and office and residence telephone numbers. I will institute the broader investigation, as resources are available, following receipt of these materials. (u)

Very truly yours,

*Jerry V. Wilson*  
Jerry V. Wilson  
Chief of Police

cc: William D. Ruckelshaus, Acting Director, FBI  
Honorable Robert Kastenmeier

CCP 7-1973

WS

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. PONDER

DATE: 6-20-73

FROM : Fletcher D. Thompson

SUBJECT:   
INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

~~REC-19~~

*U.S.P. JWS*

*U.S.P.*  
Captioned individual called on 6-20-73. She stated she is employed by the Institute of Policy Studies and is doing research for  who is writing a book concerning data banks and related matters pursuant to a Marshall Field Foundation Grant. She made inquiry concerning the processing of fingerprints. I briefed her generally on our authority for the collection, preservation and exchange of fingerprint information. She indicated that she would appreciate taking a tour of the Identification Division at some time and I told her that we would be glad to have her but arrangements should be made in advance through your office.

(u) *DS*

ACTION:

For information.

1 - Mr.

1 - Mr.

FDT:ed  
(4)

*REC-19*

*EX. 104*

*JUN 26 1973*

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*100-447935*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 5/30/80 BY

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*70 JUL 2 1973*

July 3, 1973

EX-117

REC-39

180-447935-191  
[redacted]  
Institute for Policy Studies  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

b6  
b7C

Dear [redacted]

In reply to your letter of June 21st, we have no printed material available for distribution on Prochek. It contains computerized data on known professional-type, recidivist, bad-check passers whose handiwork has been examined in the FBI Laboratory through the years. It is an internal computer system and actually is an adjunct of the National Fraudulent Check File which is a central repository for bad checks in the United States. Such checks are submitted by police agencies and the FBI to the FBI Laboratory for examination in connection with criminal investigations. (u)

The actual data encoded into Prochek is of a confidential nature. Since it is an internal FBI computer system, access to and utilization of this file are limited to personnel of the FBI Laboratory. (u)

MAILED 24

JUL 3 - 1973

Sincerely yours,

William D. Ruckelshaus

William D. Ruckelshaus  
Acting Director

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/80 BY [redacted]

NOTE: Bufile [redacted] indicate no record of [redacted]  
[redacted] is the subject of a security investigation [redacted]  
The Institute for Policy Studies has been publicly described as the "Think-tank" of the New Left and is self-described as a non-profit, nontaxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems. Therefore, our response to [redacted] is purposely circumspect. Reply coordinated with the Document Section of the Laboratory Division.

59-111131930  
5M:11 (3)

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

Return to [signature]  
Room 472

*D*

Institute for Policy Studies

1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) ADams 4-9382

June 21, 1973

*hj*

Acting Director FBI  
Attention: FBI Laboratory  
FBI  
9th and Pennsylvania, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

To whom it may concern:

I am researching data bank systems for the Institute for Policy Studies here in Washington, D.C.. My research is being conducted for [redacted] who has received a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation to study data banks. We encountered some information on the Bureau's PROCHEK, a file of known professional check passers. However, our information is limited only to the reference of the existence of the FBI file. [redacted] from the Bureau suggested that I submit a written request to gain additional information on the file system. (u)

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Perhaps it would be most helpful if I posed a few questions to illustrate the type of information I need. First, is your file manual or computerized? Second, how does the Bureau gain its information, i.e., how do the bad check passers become known to the FBI? Also, which agencies are contributing to your data files? What types of information is stored in your files? Finally, who or which agencies have access to your files? (u)

I would appreciate responses to my questions and any ad-  
(u)

ACK  
7-3-73  
mn:lw

*EX-117*  
REC-39

100-447935-191

*RE* JR  
MV

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b7C

6-27-73  
mn:ugw

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/00 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

CORRESPONDENCE

Institute for Policy Studies

1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) ADams 4-9382

ditional information you feel is relevant to my research as soon as possible. Thank you very much for your assistance.

Sincerely,

(U)

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b7C

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8/2/73  
Date of transcription

On 11/24/71 [redacted] telephonically advised SA [redacted] that he had attended a meeting at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) at which former FBI agent, [redacted] had spoken.

[redacted] further advised he had, on his own, with his own equipment, made a tape recording of the meeting.

[redacted] turned the recording over to SA [redacted] on 11/26/71. It was reviewed and returned to [redacted] since it was his property. No copy of this tape was made.

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(U)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/02 BY [redacted]

Interviewed on 8/2/73 at Washington, D.C. File # 100-46784

by SA [redacted] Date dictated 8/2/73

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100-447935-191

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

8/3/73

Date of transcription

Sometime after returning to work subsequent to November 24, 1971, SA [redacted] Washington Field Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., was advised by SA [redacted] of the same office that

[redacted] had taped comments made by former FBI SA [redacted] at a meeting at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). SA [redacted] stated that the meeting had occurred on November 24, 1971. [redacted] had taped the comments on his own initiative and with his own equipment. [redacted] had never been asked by SAs [redacted] to conduct such taping activities.

SA [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that [redacted] had given him the tape. SA [redacted] did not listen to or see the tape and as far as he knows neither the tape nor a transcription thereof was made a part of a WFO file. According to SA [redacted] the tape was returned to [redacted]

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Interviewed on 8/2/73 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 100-46784

by SA [redacted] :mad

Date dictated 8/2/73

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-447935-197  
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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CONFIDENTIAL

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD

8/24/73

7/24/72 - 8/14/73

REPORTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON FIELD

OFFICE OF ORIGIN

WASHINGTON FIELD

REPORT MADE BY

TYPED BY  
cmr

TITLE OF CASE

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
(IPS), 1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE  
AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHARACTER OF CASE

INTERNAL SECURITY

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY EXECUTIVE  
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 8/7/82

REFERENCES:

WFO report of SA ROBERT W. FEUER, 3/15/73;  
Bureau letters to WFO, 4/19/73 and 7/26/73

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-P- CLASSIFIED

ADMINISTRATIVE:

DATE OF ADMIN. 6/6/74

6/6/74

9-7-82

This investigation is based upon information  
which indicates that captioned organization  
is engaged in activities which could involve  
violations of Title 18, U.S.C. 2387 (Sedition),  
793 (Espionage), 2101 (Antiriot Laws), and Title  
50, U.S.C. 781-798 (Internal Security Act of  
1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954). (u) 273141

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Classified by [redacted]

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SEP 1 1973

AUG 28 12 39 PM '73  
SEP 15 PM '73

RL YES  
INTELLIGENCE DIV.  
INTELLIGENCE DIV.

SEP 7 1973

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

I. E. I. NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISES MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE S 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

*62-116464-214*

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE *11/4/73*

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO OSS RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

TO DEPT. \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IPS has been characterized in an article by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former WDC weekly newspaper, "The Examiner". She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in the United States (U.S.) cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left. (u)

IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable independent center for research education and social invention on public policy problems. (u)

The report is classified "Confidential" to protect WF T-1, WF T-17, and WF T-18 (u) ~~(u)~~

In assessing this office's past and current investigative efforts regarding the Institute in light of reference Bureau letter, 4/19/73, three recent events appear critical. (u)

1) Referenced Report set forth considerable information indicating IPS operates in an aura of paranoia with regard to law enforcement organizations, particularly the FBI. Their hiring the services of a Washington, D.C. electronics store proprietor in 1971 to sweep IPS for bugs and taps, and their apparent practice of subjecting their employees and prospective fellows to polygraph examination tend to confirm (u) this supposition.

2) During the latter part of 1971, [redacted] attempted to obtain "all dossiers, reports, and information maintained by the Internal Security Division (USDJ) concerning his private, public and professional life....." This request was initiated with the aide of The American Civil Liberties Union, and was based on [redacted] unsubstantiated claim that the Internal Security Division had disseminated false information regarding [redacted] in the (u) past.

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WFO 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3) During 1973, [REDACTED] IPS, initiated a civil rights complaint with the aid of WDC Attorney MITCHELL ROGOVIN alleging that federal and local law enforcement agencies had engaged in electronic surveillance, and breaking and entering upon the premises of IPS. Investigation by this office did not substantiate [REDACTED] allegations. (u)

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Coupled with this evidenced paranoia is the fact that most of the provocative information that was developed by this office regarding those areas of IPS activity contained in this communication was derived from [REDACTED] whose identity and limitations were set forth in WFO letter to Bureau, 9/15/72 (IPS caption). WFO feels it would be most unwise at this point in time to seriously consider instituting a similar operation as encompassed by the utilization of this source. Potential harm to the FBI and the Federal Government, per se, far outweigh the potential information that could be expected (u) from such a reinstated operation.

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Obviously, a classically ambivalent situation presently confronts the FBI regarding the scope of additional investigation regarding the Institute. The development of information in this investigation which may indicate the violation of Federal laws by IPS in general, or by its principal leaders is most unlikely without the utilization of a full physical surveillance program, technical surveillance, trash cover, or live informant in place. None of these techniques is considered prudent or feasible at this time. (u)

During the next several months, WFO will direct the course of its investigation regarding the Institute toward the determination of whether IPS and its principal leaders are functioning in violation of Federal law. After this period, Washington Field will make a recommended assessment as to whether additional investigation is warranted, advising the Bureau accordingly. (u)

The representative of the FBI who telephonically contacted the WDC offices of CEC on 8/29/72 utilizing a no-name pretext was SA ROBERT W. FEUER. (u)

The representative of the FBI who reviewed the passport records (U.S. Government records) regarding SAMUEL RUBIN on 8/5/64 was IC [REDACTED] (u)

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COVER PAGE

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WFO 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The representative of the FBI who reviewed the records of the Surrogate Court, Westchester County, New York, on 4/28/71 was SA WILLIAM A. FLYNN, JR. (u)

The representative of the FBI who reviewed the passport records (U.S. Government records) regarding [redacted] on 1/28/70 was SE [redacted] (u)

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The representative of the FBI who observed [redacted] on 9/20/72 was SA ROBERT W. FEUER. (u)

The representative of the FBI who reviewed the records at the Bureau of Vital Statistics, New York City, New York, regarding [redacted] was SA WILLIAM T. FIELD, JR. (u)

The representative of the FBI who reviewed the records of the Passport Office, U.S. District Court, WDC (U.S. Government records) regarding [redacted] and SAMUEL RUBIN was IC [redacted] (u)

INFORMANTS

Identity of Sources

WF T-1 is [redacted]

WF T-2 is [redacted]

WF T-3 is [redacted]

WF T-4 is [redacted]

WF T-5 is [redacted]

WF T-6 is (See Non-Symbol Source Page)

WF T-7 is [redacted] [redacted]

(Protect-Request)

WF T-8 is [redacted]

WF T-9 is [redacted]

Location

[redacted]

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WF 100-48568-1

[redacted] (u)

[redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-46784

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Identity of Sources

Location

WF T-10 is [redacted]

[redacted]

WF T-11 is (See Non-Symbol Source Page)

WF T-12 is [redacted]

WF 157-1181-177  
and 524

WF T-13 is [redacted]

[redacted]

WF T-14 is [redacted]

WF 157-1181-142,  
524

WF T-15 is [redacted]

WF 100-52575-39,40

WF T-16 is (See Non Symbol Source Page)

WF T-17 is [redacted] (u)

[redacted] (u)

WF T-18 is [redacted]

WF 100-46784-1368pD

WF T-19 is (See Non-Symbol Source Page)

WF T-20 is [redacted]

[redacted]

WF T-21 is [redacted]

WF 100-1522-1600

LEADS:

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. WFO is discontinuing the leads set forth for this office as contained in referenced report, other than continuing to follow and report upon IPS activities. The specific areas the leads in referenced report addressed themselves to were either not in the areas of legitimate investigative interest the Bureau set forth in the 4/19/73 Bureau letter, or fell into areas of investigative concern that are not the jurisdictional responsibilities of the FBI. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADMINISTRATIVE - NON-SYMBOL SOURCE PAGE  
ReWFOreport of SA [redacted] at Washington, D.C.,  
captioned "INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS), IS-REVACT,"  
dated 8/24/73.

Identity of Sources

Location

WF T-6 is [redacted] [redacted]	WF 100-46784-1017
WDC, to whom a subpoena duces tecum should be directed in the event a request is made for information set out. (Requested)	
WF T-11 is [redacted] [redacted] (Requested)	WF 157-1181-177, and 524
WF T-16 is [redacted] [redacted] WDC (Requested)	WF 100-46784- 671p2.
WF T-19 is [redacted] [redacted] WDC (Requested)	WF 157-2208- 2,3,5

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THIS PAGE IS TO BE RETAINED IN HEADQUARTERS CITY AT ALL TIMES.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Acting Attorney General

October 31, 1973

EX-111

Director, FBI 100-447955-200

REC-36

1 - Mr. Franck  
(Attn: Mr. Herington)  
1 - Mr. Mintz  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II.  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/31/93

Reference is made to a memorandum dated October 17, 1973, from Mr. [redacted] Office of the former Deputy Attorney General, to Inspector [redacted] Office of Legal Counsel, FBI, wherein a status report was requested concerning an article by John Hanrahan, "Washington Post" staff writer, which appeared in the "Washington Post" on October 10, 1973. The story alleges that the FBI engaged in illegal activities against the IPS. (U)

For your background information, IPS was the subject of a preliminary inquiry by the FBI in November, 1968, after information was received indicating a possible connection between IPS and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The investigation was expanded in 1971 after it was determined that IPS planned to embark on a five year plan for the radical reconstruction of American Society and had circulated to radical groups around the country a document calling for brigades to descend on Washington, D. C., and close down Government agencies. The current investigation is directed toward those areas in which violations of Federal statutes may be developed in view of the activities of IPS personnel involving the Middle East and the Arabs, North and South Vietnam, Tanzania and the Pan-African Movement and contacts with subversive organizations and individuals in the United States. (U) (f)

In May, 1973, Mitchell Bogoyev, [redacted] requested Mr. William D. Ruckelshaus, then Acting Director of the FBI, to investigate alleged violations of the civil rights of IPS personnel in general and [redacted] in particular. In June, 1973, he also wrote to Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger concerning the civil rights of IPS personnel. The allegations included illegal surveillances by Federal and local law enforcement [redacted] including electronic

JWG:mcm/djr: (9)

6-1180  
CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II.  
DATE OF REVIEW

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO (U)

NOV 14 1973

NOV 16 1973

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
TELETYPE UNITED OTHERWISE

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The Acting Attorney General

*Memorandum*

surveillance and breaking and entering. A civil rights investigation was conducted by our Washington Field Office of the allegations concerning [redacted] and results were furnished to the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department and to former Special Prosecutor [redacted] along with the denials of electronic surveillances or burglaries by FBI Agents. By memorandum dated October 17, 1973, Assistant Attorney General Pottinger requested additional investigation relating to alleged breaking and entering and surveillances, including electronic surveillance of IPS. (u)

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[redacted] who is mentioned in the article, was a Special Agent of the FBI from May 10, 1965, to April 30, 1970, when he voluntarily resigned. Since his resignation he has been critical of the Bureau's investigative and personnel policies and has visited IPS and discussed his participation in FBI investigations in the New Left and racial fields. He has also made several allegations against the FBI in newspaper and magazine articles claiming the FBI was unnecessarily investigating organizations and individuals who had not committed crimes.

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[redacted]'s allegations that the FBI improperly secured bank records regarding IPS, that he himself initiated investigation of IPS and concluded there was nothing to investigate but that investigation of IPS continued and his description of that investigation have all been made before. Previous inquiries into [redacted]'s allegations disclosed they are inaccurate and there were no improprieties on the part of FBI Agents during the course of the investigation of IPS. (u)

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1 - Office of the Deputy Attorney General

NOTE:

Memorandum being sent to the Acting Attorney General in response to a request for a status report concerning the allegations in the "Washington Post" article described above.

11/7/73 -  
- 2 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 11/16/73

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935) ATTN: INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
and  
FROM: SAC, WFO (44-951) GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE  
DIVISION

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue  
Washington, D. C.  
INTERNAL SECURITY

UNSUBS:

AND THE  
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES - VICTIMS  
CONSPIRACY AGAINST RIGHTS  
CIVIL RIGHTS  
(OO:WFO)

Bureau airtel of 10/29/73 forwarded a copy of a memorandum from the Civil Rights Division (CRD) of the Department wherein the Bureau in question #2 was requested to "Provide a copy of all records and reports of the Washington Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation pertaining to the 'surveillance' of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) for the period January 1, 1971, to the present." I was informed by the Bureau that the word "surveillance" should be interpreted in the broadest possible sense so as to mean the equivalent of investigation. Under the circumstances, I found it desirable to have the WFO file reviewed for the purpose of composing a "damage assessment" potential, should the Bureau decide to comply with the CRD's request.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/30/04 BY [redacted]  
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EX-105

④ - 1 - 92940 Bureau

2 - WFO

(1 - 100-46784)

JJMcD:MCP  
(6)

REC-30

100-447935-201-114

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M<sup>o</sup> NOV 1 1973

Special Agent in Charge

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

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11

UNRECORDED COPY FILED 11/16/73

WFO 44-951

WFO has conducted an examination of the 22 volume file on the IPS matter which consists of in excess of 1400 serials. This file contains raw investigative material which generally falls within the following categories: (u)

Identities of confidential sources which furnished banking information pertaining to IPS and its personnel. WFO, during a portion of the investigation, had access to the records of the [redacted] Leads were set out to many points in the United States of America to gather background data on banking correspondents. Thus, sources in banks other than [redacted] are identified in the file. (u)

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Classified material pertaining to representatives of foreign embassies. These individuals were either in contact with IPS or were of interest to FBI investigation of IPS. (u)

Stationary observation posts and physical surveillance techniques. With information that Weather fugitives visited IPS, WFO had in effect a stationary observation post on IPS for a period of several months. Additionally, surveillances were conducted on spot check basis over several years with respect to New Left figures who frequented IPS. (u)

Identities of live symbol and non-symbol informants who furnished data pertaining to IPS. (u)

Investigative results pertaining to other matters which were placed in the IPS file because of collateral interest, such as Elsur data. (u)

Results of Metropolitan Police Department investigations of IPS which were furnished to WFO in confidence. (u)

Confidential information furnished by the [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] which were made available without the benefit of subpoena duces tecum. (u)

WFO 44-951

Material furnished by other Federal agencies such as the [redacted] which falls under the "Third Agency Rule".

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Material furnished the FBI by private industry and its reaction to requests of IPS concerning policies of private industry. This material was furnished the FBI in confidence.

Information supplied by foreign intelligence agencies which was for FBI use only.

Material relative to the security afforded IPS of its buildings and environment.

Administrative correspondence between FBI Headquarters and WFO relating to specific investigative points.

The foregoing was made available to SA ROBERT L. SHACKELFORD of the Bureau on 11/1/73.

While advice has since been received from the Bureau that the CRD's original request with regard to paragraph #2 of its letter has been modified pending review in the Department of material furnished to it previously by the Bureau concerning IPS, I would like to make the following observations should the Department renew its request in anything like its original form.

#### OBSERVATIONS:

The CRD has no greater right to review the Bureau's raw files than any other agency or division to which we disseminate information since, among other things, we have the obligation to protect the identity of sensitive sources and techniques which would be revealed.

While the CRD may make any inquiry of the Bureau, it should be expected to accept the Bureau's parole concerning the lack of any illegality or impropriety by Bureau employees in connection with the IPS investigation.

WFO 44-951

If an analogy may be drawn with Departmental requests regarding electronic surveillances (elsurs) with regard to evidentiary material in connection with criminal actions pending in Federal Court, it has been the Department's practice to merely request the Bureau to review its own files and, thereafter, to accept without question the Bureau's response. It is noted that in the IPS case there is no matter pending before the court. The CRD's request to, in effect, see the WFO raw file can only be interpreted as a disinclination to accept the results of the Bureau's own file review.

The Bureau has been placed in the position by CRD of attempting to establish a negative concept, that is the Bureau's non-involvement in any illegal activity, as a result of a communication directed to former Acting Director RUCKELSHAUS in May, 1973, by MITCHELL ROGOVIN of IPS, wherein ROGOVIN engaged in accusative speculation, approaching paranoia by way of imputation, of wrong doing to the Bureau without factual basis. Despite the lack of factual predication, the Bureau had WFO institute a most thorough review of files, interviews of investigative personnel, as well as the complainants, police officers, etc., and thereafter WFO submitted an extensive letterhead memorandum which should have set in proper perspective for any reasonable person the true facts surrounding the incident complained of by ROGOVIN.

Having bent over backwards, having "walked the extra mile" as it were, I feel it intolerable that the CRD should consider attempting to test the Bureau's credibility by a review of raw field office files instead of telling ROGOVIN to "put up or shut up" with regard to furnishing specifics. I am sure the Bureau also regards ROGOVIN's position as only a thinly veiled attempt to learn whatever the FBI knows concerning IPS.

If there was a single area of legitimate inquiry for ROGOVIN on behalf of IPS, it concerns the events of the evening of 5/24/73. That issue was met head-on in the most

thorough manner. To permit ROGOVIN's paranoid suspicions of Bureau operations to be used as a predication for a CRD raid on Bureau files would be intolerable. CRD has permitted ROGOVIN to place this matter all out of perspective. If the Bureau were to be put through this exercise each time some malcontent vociferously expresses himself, we would have time for little else.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Should the CRD renew its request to review WFO's raw file in this matter or, in any event, documents not originally intended or prepared for dissemination, that:

1. The Bureau decline to comply.
2. That the CRD be informed that the entire investigative file concerning the IPS in WFO has been reviewed and not a single inkling of illegality or impropriety was detected; further, that SAC, WFO is prepared to make affidavit to this effect at such time as there is an action before the court, which is not now the case.
3. That the Bureau inform CRD that the Bureau stands prepared to respond to any and all legitimate inquiries of substance concerning the propriety of its operations.
4. That the Bureau expects the CRD in the future to insist upon receipt of more specifics from a complainant instead of placing the Bureau in a position of attempting to prove a negative concept.

*affidavit  
should only  
exist the  
of facts  
such as  
photo, surveil  
and should not  
stand general  
conclusions of  
here.*

1 - F. B. Griffith  
1 -   
1 - A. T. D. J. Brooks

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Airtel

To: SAC, Detroit (100-42061)

12/14/73

From: Director, FBI (100-470582) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MOLEHOLE  
SUBVERSIVE MATTER (EXTREMIST)

ReFBIHQtel dated 11/21/73.

Enclosed for Detroit are   
 printouts of   
on all discernible  listed in the address  
book of , which was in his possession at the  
time of his arrest on 11/12/73. These  were  
checked against the following:

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b7E

Additionally enclosed is the  printouts of  
 information concerning those   
listed in the above printouts under

b7E

Enclosures (8)

① - Institute for Policy Study (100-447936)

5/29/80  
CLASS. 6 EXT. BY ~~SP1 481147~~  
REASON-FORM II ~~3-2-4.2-2~~  
DATE OF REVIEW ~~12/14/93~~

TDJB:pag

(7)

SEE NOTE PAGE FIVE

~~DUPLICATE~~ **DUPLICATE YELLOW**

Classified by ~~100-447935~~

Exempt-from-CDS, Category ~~2~~

Date of Declassification: Indefinite

100-447935  
RECORDED  
DEC 17 3

54 DEC 20 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-447935  
54 DEC 20 1973

54 DEC 20 1973

Airtel to Detroit  
Re: Molehole  
100-470582

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It is to be noted that not all [ ] have [ ] information. This is partially due to periodic deletions from [ ] by the field. Those [ ] on which [ ] information is attached are noted by a dash (-), and those without [ ] information are noted by a zero (0). ~~U~~

In order to more fully understand the printouts, it should be noted that [ ] are [ ] [ ] which were listed in [ ] address book which have been checked against the [ ] The [ ]

[ ] ascertained by contacting the field office, referring to the field office file, which is listed under "FO FILE NUMBER" since those numbers would have been entered into [ ] by a communication under the field office file number indicated. ~~U~~

The following is an example of what can be obtained from this printout. ~~U~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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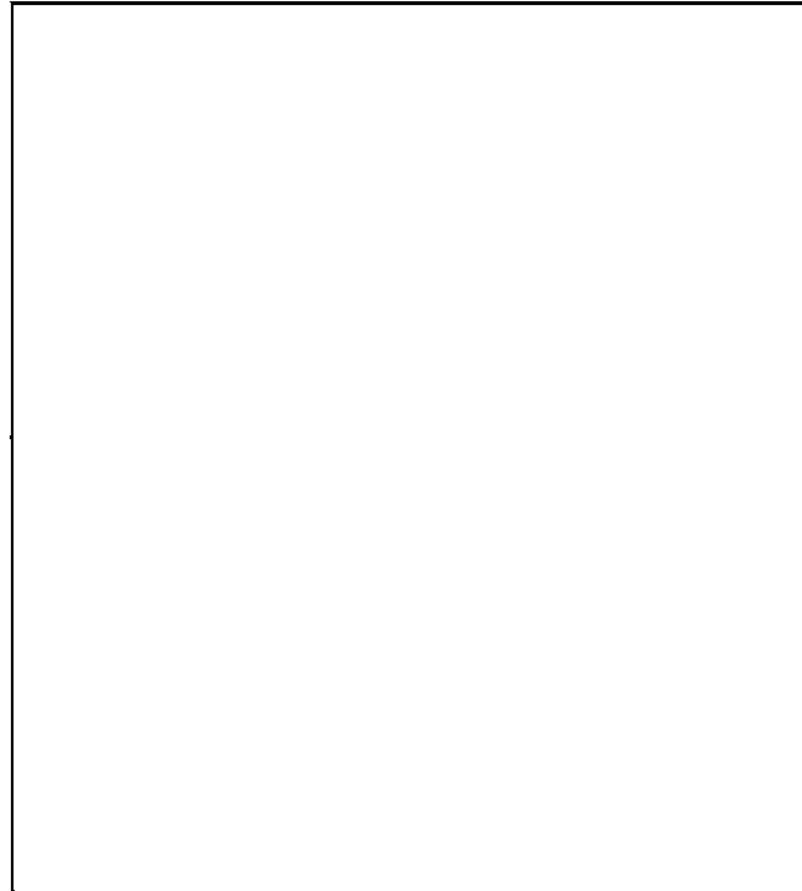
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Airtel to Detroit  
Re: Molehole  
100-470582

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Inquiry concerning [redacted] was also made on two occasions by the Charlotte Office under their file numbers 157-6758 and 157-5268. ~~U~~

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In regard to [redacted] he is the subject of the case captioned, [redacted] aka, SM - RA; IS - CH" WFO file 100-45265. [redacted] has recently traveled to China and is a [redacted] of the Institute for Policy Study, which has been publicly described as a New-Left "Think-Tank." [redacted] has a background of involvement with the Students for a Democratic Society during the period 1962 - 1965. ~~U~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airtel to Detroit  
Re: Molehole  
100-470582

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Detroit should thoroughly review enclosed printouts in conjunction with the objectives of the investigation in captioned matter. After thorough analysis, logical leads should be set forth to determine the involvement of [redacted] and others in the promotion of violent revolution. ~~(S)~~ U

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NOTE:

Molehole is a Bureau code name in the investigation arising out of the discovery of [redacted]

It is felt that an explanation of the printouts is necessary for the understanding of the Detroit Office. ~~(S)~~ U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b7C

Mr. E. S. Miller

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. Franck  
1 - Mr. Mintz  
11/28/73  
1 - Mr. Miller  
1 - Mr. Shackelford  
1 - [redacted]

R. L. Shackelford

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

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CLASS. & EXT. : [redacted]  
REASON-FCIM II  
DATE OF REVIEW

11/29/73

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PURPOSE:

To answer the Director's question of Mr. Miller "any untruths in this story?" referring to a "Washington Post" newspaper story by staff writer Paul W. Valentine, which appeared in the 11/26/73 edition of the "Washington Post" and which dealt with statements made by captioned individuals to the "Washington Post." (u)

BACKGROUND:

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[redacted]

(u)

(u)

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100-447935 Institute for Policy Studies b7E  
Enclosure

NOT RECORDED  
25 DEC 11 1973

JWG:mcm (8)

CLASS. & EXT. : [redacted]  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2 4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 11/28/73

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CONTINUED - OVER

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

FILED IN

8 8  
Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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IPS, which is mentioned in the article, was the subject of a preliminary inquiry by the FBI in 11/68 after information was received indicating a possible connection between IPS and SDS. The investigation was expanded in 1971 after it was determined that IPS planned to embark on a five year plan for the radical reconstruction of American society and had circulated to radical groups around the country a document calling for brigades to descend on Washington, D.C., and close down Government agencies. The current investigation of IPS is directed toward those areas in which violations of Federal statutes may be developed in view of the activities of IPS personnel involving the Middle East and the Arabs, North and South Vietnam, Tanzania and the Pan-African Movement and contacts with subversive organizations and individuals in the United States. ~~(u)~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8 8  
Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE:

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OBSERVATIONS:

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 1/4/74

FROM : ~~VSAC~~, ATLANTA (100-7852) (C)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS), aka  
Institute for Southern Studies (ISS)—  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
OO: WFO

Re report of SA [redacted] 5/31/73, at  
Atlanta; and Bulet to Atlanta, 6/15/73. (u)

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Referenced Atlanta report of 5/31/73, pointed out that ISS in Atlanta was affiliated with IPS in Washington, D.C., and that in the past ISS had been primarily involved in doing research and research papers on the military industrial complex in the South; also that as of the Spring of 1973, ISS was doing research on prison reform, prisoners' rights, court reform, justice in trials, a reform of the legal structure, uniformity of sentencing of people convicted of crimes and a union for prisoners. In addition, the report showed that ISS in Atlanta has no regular type meetings or affairs and most of its discussions were held at informal get-togethers. (u)

Referenced bulet of 6/15/73, pointed out that the Bureau had reviewed the above-mentioned report and the Bureau noted that this report set forth certain activities of the ISS, which did not appear to be revolutionary in nature and did not show evidence of possible violations of Federal statutes within the FBI's jurisdiction. (u)

Since the submission of referenced report on 5/31/73, ISS began issuing a quarterly publication called "Southern Exposure", which runs approximately 100 pages and, to date, two issues have been published. The Spring, 1973 issue was devoted to the theme "The Military and The South" and the articles appearing in this issue (u)

REC-39/100-447935-203

② - Bureau  
2 - WFO (100-46784)  
1 - Atlanta  
EAS/Iru  
(5)

114 JAN 7 1974

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58 JAN 10 1974 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/17/00 BY [redacted]

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly Savings Plan



5010-108

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: FEB 28 1974

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (C)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
IS

Re Bureau letter to WFO, 4/19/73; WFO report of SA [redacted] 8/23/73; and WFO airtel to Bureau, 11/16/73. (u)

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b7C

WFO has reviewed the investigative efforts conducted to date concerning captioned organization and its principal leaders, and has come to the conclusion that a paucity of information exists that would support the likelihood of IPS or its leaders to be functioning in violation of Federal law. (u)

This, coupled with the following examples of IPS activity directed against the FBI and other law enforcement organizations has convinced this office that continued investigative efforts directed toward the Institute would be unlikely to develop further substantial information detailing subversion on the part of IPS, and could very likely again place the FBI into a position of attempting to prove a negative concept, i.e., the Bureau's non-involvement in any illegal activity directed against the Institute, that SAC, WFO specifically addressed himself to in referenced WFO airtel. (u)

1) WFO report of SA [redacted] 3/15/73, set forth considerable information indicating IPS operates in an aura of paranoia with regard to law enforcement organizations, particularly the FBI. Their hiring the services of a Washington, D. C. (WDC) electronics store proprietor in 1971 to sweep IPS for bugs and taps, and their apparent practice of subjecting their employees and prospective fellows to polygraph examination to confirm this supposition. (u)

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2) During the latter part of 1971, [redacted] at IPS, attempted to obtain "all dossiers, reports, and information maintained by the Internal Security Division (USDJ) concerning his private, public and professional life..." This request was initiated with the aid of [redacted] (u)

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1-902  
2-Bureau 9-10

1-WFO  
JPC:lmc  
(3)

APR 1 1974

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-17-80 BY [redacted]

MAR 1 1974

1-902

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WFO 100-46784

of The American Civil Liberties Union, and was based on [redacted] unsubstantiated claim that the Internal Security Division had disseminated false information regarding [redacted] in the past. (u)

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3) During late 1973, [redacted] IPS, initiated a Federal civil rights complaint with the aid of WDC attorney, MITCHELL ROGOVIN, alleging that Federal and local law enforcement agencies had engaged in electronic surveillance, and breaking and entering upon the premises of IPS. Investigation by this office did not in any way substantiate [redacted] (u) allegations.

Referenced letter focused on several facets of activity of IPS and its personnel which the Bureau suggested may involve violations of Federal statutes. All of these areas having a domestic origin have been the subject of separate investigations by this office as follows: (u)

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[redacted]  
MIDDLE EAST RESEARCH INFORMATION  
PROJECT (MERIP)

IS

Bufile: Unknown

WFOfile: [redacted]

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PAUL, LEONARD JACOBS

IS-ME

Bufile: 100-401403

WFOfile: 100-48569

[redacted] (u)

WFO 100-46784

CENTER FOR BLACK EDUCATION (CBE)  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EM

Bufile: 157-15364  
WFOfile: 157-2619

RICHARD JACKSON BARNET  
SM  
Bufile: [redacted]  
WFOfile: 100-45302

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[redacted]

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(u)

As the Bureau set forth in referenced letter, it is difficult to differentiate between legal and potentially illegal activities of IPS because of the interrelated structure of its programs, and the complexity of its funding, however, there does appear that many of the Institute's activities are in the gray area of propriety, or may even be proper. (u)

For this reason primarily, and for those reasons enumerated previously, WFO is discontinuing the investigation regarding the Institute at this time. Should information be developed by this office that suggests subversive and/or illegal involvement on the part of those organizations or individuals listed above, this information will be furnished to the Bureau under their specific organizational or individual title, and obviously, if future information comes to the attention of this office indicating an overall subversive and/or illegal activity on the part of IPS per se, the investigation re captioned organization will be re-opened at that time. (u)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 08-28-2015 b6 BY [REDACTED]  
b7C

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall *W.R.W.*

FROM : R. L. Shackelford *R.L.S.*

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY

1 - Mr. Gebhardt  
1 - Mr. Mintz  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
DATE: 3/14/74  
1 - Mr. Shackelford  
1 - [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PURPOSE:

~~CLASSIFIED BY~~  
~~DECLASSIFY ON: 2/28/74~~

*Shackelford*

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To advise Intelligence Division (INTD) concurs with the decision of WFO to close its investigation of IPS as stated in WFO letter dated 2/28/74, which is attached

(u)

BACKGROUND:

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IPS incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1962 in the District of Columbia to receive and maintain funds for charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes. Most responsible for the development of IPS were Richard Barnet, [REDACTED]

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Richard J. Barnet was an organizer for antiwar protests. He traveled to Europe, the Soviet Union and North Vietnam and was in contact with high-level officials of the Russian, Polish, Hungarian and Czechoslovakian Embassies in Washington, D.C. *(u)*

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*EX-112 REC-16 100-447935-20*

[REDACTED] was a defendant with [REDACTED] in a trial regarding the Selective Service System. He was acquitted. He publicly stated that the capitalistic system in the U.S. is causing imperialism and aggression in other parts of the world. In mid-1972 [REDACTED] was one of a group who met with the North Vietnam and Viet Cong delegations to the Paris Peace Talks during which the "politics of Escalation" of the U.S. was strongly condemned. *(u)*

CLASSIFICATION INFORMATION  
EXEMPTIONS  
DATE OF REVIEW  
REF ID: A112

[REDACTED] was either a leader or participant in almost every New Left oriented event in Washington, D.C. for several years. In 1967 he became [REDACTED] for "Ramparts" magazine and the Radical Education Project of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). [REDACTED] was active in SDS in 1968 and helped organize the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. *(u)*

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Enclosure

100-447935

JWG:mcm (6)

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Classified by 7225 on 6/10/75  
Exempt from CDS Category 235  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Continued - Over

24 APR 1 1974 MAR 28 1974

Continued - Over

FWS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED FILED 100-447935-20

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
RE: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
100-447935

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In late 1968, following a trip to Cuba by SDS members, arrangements were made through [redacted]

[redacted] of SDS, for a story about the trip. [redacted]

[redacted] worked for IPS and for "Ramparts" magazine. Upon receipt of this information, a preliminary inquiry concerning IPS was conducted to determine any connection between IPS and "Ramparts" magazine and to determine the aims and purposes of IPS so that a determination could be made whether investigation of IPS was warranted under existing instructions concerning investigations of organizations. (U)

In mid-1969, Sheriff Guellal, former Algerian Ambassador who had joined IPS, made all of the arrangements for a Pan-African Conference in Algiers with money allegedly put up by IPS through [redacted]. The Conference was attended by many black militants from the U.S., including the Black Panther Party (BPP). Soviet influence on the Conference was omnipresent and the direction of the propaganda at the Conference was the result of Soviet planning. (U)

In late 1969, Richard J. Barnet visited Hanoi, North Vietnam, and held discussions with Premier Pham Van Dong. (U)

[redacted]

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In late 1970, [redacted] visited the offices of IPS in Washington, D.C. (U)

In late 1970, IPS reportedly circulated a document calling for brigades to descend on Washington, D.C., and close down Government agencies. The chief organizer of the program was reported to be [redacted] subject, assisted by [redacted] of IPS. (U)

In late 1970, it was learned that IPS was considering a five year plan to radicalize U.S. society through the creation of counter structures. (U)

In view of the above, the investigation of IPS was expanded in order to determine if its was subversive in nature. (U)

~~SECRET~~ CONTINUED - OVER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
RE: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
100-447935

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By letter dated 8/31/71, Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian requested additional investigation of IPS pointing out a possible connection between IPS and the unauthorized disclosure of the "McNamara Papers," a possible (U) violation of Title 18, USC, 792-98 (Espionage).

In late 1971, a meeting was arranged at IPS for the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP). A staff member of the Project, [redacted] who later joined IPS, was a member of the delegation to the Second World Conference on Palestine held in Amman, Jordan, in mid-1970. The Conference adopted views which identified completely with Arab guerrillas and called for "revolution in the U.S." (U) b6 b7C

In mid-1972, [redacted] requested advice from [redacted] about financing a trip to the Middle East to study and report the revolutionary and progressive developments in the area of the oil-rich U.S. dominated Persian Gulf. He subsequently (U) arranged to leave for Istanbul, Turkey, in late 1972. (U)

In early 1973, [redacted] endorsed the work of [redacted] who was working for IPS in determining the extent of FBI investigations of the Arab Community as part of an overall study of the U.S. internal security apparatus. (U)

In 4/73, FBIHQ reviewed the IPS investigation and directed WFO to insure that the investigation of IPS and its leaders is directed in those areas in which violations of Federal statutes may be developed, such as the Internal Security Act of 1950, Communist Control Act of 1954, sedition, espionage and antiriot laws and that the continuing investigation of IPS is concerned only with possible illegal activities so that there will be no infringement upon the rights of IPS personnel. (U)

In 8/73, WFO reported the results of its investigation in accordance with FBIHQ guidelines and advised that after a period of several months, it would assess its investigation to determine whether IPS and its principal leaders were in violation of Federal statutes, after which appropriate recommendations would be made concerning continued investigation. (U)

By letter dated 2/28/74, WFO advised it had reviewed its investigation and concluded there is no current evidence that IPS is presently engaged in activities in violation of Federal statutes and continued investigation would not likely reveal (U)

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CONTINUED - OVER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
RE: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
100-447935

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

prosecutable violations of statutes covering subversive activity. Further, additional investigation would likely lead to additional civil rights allegations, infra, being made against the FBI and its personnel which would again place the FBI in a position of attempting to prove no illegal activity was directed against IPS. WFO advised it was closing its investigation of IPS subject to being reopened if future information indicates subversive or illegal activities by IPS. WFO also pointed out that IPS leaders and other personnel have been subjects of separate investigations where their activities indicated possible violations of Federal statutes and listed eight such investigations. (U)

RELATED MATTERS:

In 5/73, IPS alleged a violation of the civil rights of some of its personnel. At the direction of the Civil Rights Division (CRD) of the Department, a civil rights investigation was conducted and no evidence of improper or illegal acts on the part of Bureau personnel was developed. The results of this investigation are presently under consideration by the CRD of the Department. (U)

On 2/20/74, IPS filed a civil complaint against John N. Mitchell and others, including present and former FBI personnel, alleging illegal interception of telephone calls of IPS personnel at IPS, breaking and entering and removal of documents from IPS. All of the allegations concerning FBI personnel are absolutely baseless and false and were resolved in the civil rights investigation, supra. Part of the allegations in the IPS complaint involve the "plumbers," the Washington, D.C., Police Department and other non-FBI individuals. We cannot, of course, answer for their activities. (U)

OBSERVATIONS:

INTD concurs with the decision of WFO to close the investigation of IPS based upon its conclusion that there is no current evidence that IPS is presently engaged in activities in violation of Federal statutes. INTD has noted that WFO advised that investigations of possible illegal activities of IPS personnel, such as the eight cases listed in WFO letter of 2/28/74, will be conducted in the individual cases and INTD concurs with this decision. Two of these cases are pending and six are closed. An up-to-date report concluding the investigation of IPS is being requested from WFO, which upon receipt will be disseminated to the Department. (b)

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CONTINUED - OVER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
RE: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
100-447935

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information: Upon receipt of closing  
WFO report, it will be furnished the Department with a cover letter  
along the lines of the foregoing.

W.W.F.

wed

(u)

AS/RD

AS/RD SM

AS/RD

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOI,PA

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 2/10/71

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-36428) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue NW  
Washington, D. C.  
SM - MISC  
(OO: WFO)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ALL FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF 100-36428  
DATE 2/10/71

Re WFO letter, 10/12/70, captioned as above.

[redacted] Security Department,  
Personnel and Organization Staff, Ford Motor Company,  
Dearborn, Michigan, advised SA [redacted] on  
12/18/70, that the Ford Motor Company had received a letter  
from the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) requesting  
background information on the person or persons in charge  
of their security program, signed [redacted] *D.C.*

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[redacted] advised that the letter was ignored  
and no response was made thereto.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information  
in the past, advised SA [redacted] on 1/29/71, that  
the General Motors Corporation had received a letter from  
IPS, signed by [redacted] asking for the same information  
requested from the Ford Motor Company. This letter was not  
responded to. *(U)*

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It is to be noted that the 10/1/70, issue of  
"Combat" carries an article "Left's Think - Tank Launches  
Campaign Against Security Forces."

The article in part stated:

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - WFO (100-46784) (RM)  
1 - Detroit  
JRC/jms  
(5)

REC-20

100-447935-57

5 FEB 12 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

5/12/80  
CLASS & EXT. BY [redacted]

REASON-FCTM 1.2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 2/10/91

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"A man who once had a place of honor in the office of Pres. Kennedy's National Security Council, Marcus Raskin, heads up IPS's Program 2, which at the moment is collecting information about the men who handle security for the nation's industrial plants. Raskin, another 'Liberal Papers' author, was one on 'Rampart' board of directors, and was an outspoken critic of the CIA and the National Security Agency and other intelligence organizations. In mid-August Raskin sent a letter to the public relations departments of 500 American companies, informing the PR men: 'I am doing a study of the problems of industrial security. As a starting point I would appreciate any written materials which you might have concerning this question including a biographical resume of the person or persons in charge of your security program. Thank you very much.' PR men habitually respond to such inquiries without asking questions themselves. Contacted by 'Combat', Raskin said he was doing the research for a b-ok which would show 'the class background and educational background of the men who head various programs, who are part of the business elite.' He said one of his interests was to find out what happened to ex-military officers and ex-FBI agents. Most American firms will not conceal the background of their security managers, but when a man who in the past has attacked national security programs (e.g., nuclear testing, Skybolt missiles, etc.) tries to compile a filing cabinet of dossiers on the men who guard the country's industrial plants, security agents are suspicious. Not suspicious enough, though. Raskin told 'Combat' he has received more than 200 replies."

It is suggested that WFO attempt to establish a source in the offices of IPS to determine what companies replied to [redacted] letter. ~~(U)~~

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935) DATE: 2/4/71

FROM : *2/28/71* SAC, LOUISVILLE (100-5289) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
SM - MISC

OO: WFO

Re WFO letter and LHM, 10/12/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM. Two copies of LHM being furnished San Francisco and WFO.

[redacted]  
[redacted] a long established source, [redacted]  
[redacted] on 11/20/70, advised that he had not heard of captioned organization or of [redacted]  
[redacted] advised that he would make discreet inquiries among [redacted] members concerning IPS.

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On 1/13/71, he furnished information set out in LHM and identities of persons contacted and the firms they represented. This list is being maintained in the exhibit envelope of the Louisville file.

1-921D  
2-Bureau (Enc. 5) *ENCL 1* *3 cycle* *no dissemination*  
2-San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM) *destroyed of 2/11*  
2-WFO (100-46784) (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-Louisville  
GWH/pkd

SI-117

REC-41

100-447935-58

12 FEB 12 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 5/1/02 BY [redacted]

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*11-12-71*

*2/23/71*  
FEB 23 1971  
5010-108



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Louisville, Kentucky  
February 4, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

On January 13, 1971, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he had made discreet inquiries concerning captioned institute [redacted] [redacted] among fifteen individuals involved in the field of industrial security and plant protection in thirteen Louisville companies or agencies and one Lexington, Kentucky company.

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Only one of the individuals contacted had heard of captioned institute [redacted]. This individual who has associated with Standard Oil of Kentucky, advised that the Public Relations Department, Standard Oil of California, San Francisco, California, had received an inquiry from [redacted] of the captioned institute dated August 17, 1970, asking for information concerning industrial security and a biographical resume of the person in charge of the industrial security program of the company. No reply was made to the inquiry. //

---

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 1\*-

100-447935-58  
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 2/12/71

Re: ~~FROM~~ SAC, WFO (100-46784)

SUBJECT: **INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES**  
SM - MISCELLANEOUS

Space for an observation post on captioned  
organization has been secured [redacted]

[redacted] the Washington Field Office and there is no  
cost for the lookout. However, in order to maintain  
contact with the office and institute surveillances  
when needed to identify people, it is necessary to use  
a telephone. UACB, WFO will have a telephone installed  
at this location.

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2-Bureau  
1-WFO

CJJ:MJB  
(3)

REC-56

100-447935-59

EX-104

3 MAR 1 1971

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DATE 5/12/80

2 MAR 4 1971



5010-103-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

MAR 17 1971

MAR 19 1971

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMMEDIATE NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISES MAY HAVE BEEN MADE FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

62-116464-214

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL.

DATE 11/14/75

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO OSSJ RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

TO DEPT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. *145-325*

Washington, D.C. 20535

February 19, 1971

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

"By giving a tax exemption to an organization  
like the Institute for Policy Studies, our government is  
allowing tax exemption to support revolution."

*9803 RDD/Bwg.*

*179-9714*  
*344, 714*

Senator Strom Thurmond  
(Republican, South Carolina)  
Congressional Record,  
December 4, 1967

I. Introduction

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) is located at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC). The Institute was founded in October 1963 by Marcus G. Raskin and Richard J. Barnet who still remain its co-directors. The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education, and social invention on public policy problems.

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(IPS Pamphlet entitled "The First Three Years," Institute for Policy Studies)

"IPS had its genesis in the Peace Research Institute, which began operations in Washington on April 5, 1961, with an announcement that it would serve as a

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private agency to undertake and stimulate research in all fields relevant to peace, security, disarmament and international order. Shortly afterward, it obtained a \$20,000 contract for a study for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

"Late in 1963, the Peace Research Institute (led by Arthur Irwin Waskow) merged with the Institute for Policy Studies, which had just been founded by Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnet, who once served as deputy director of political research for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Arthur Waskow then went to work for the IPS as its senior fellow."

(Article "Barron's" National Business and Financial Weekly entitled "Radical Think-Tank, the Institute for Policy Studies Aim to Disarm the United States," dated 10/6, 13/69)

In an article in the former Washington weekly newspaper, "The Examiner" dated September 24, 1967, page twenty-two, Edith Kermit Roosevelt described the IPS in part, as follows:

IPS is a Washington based Think Factory, which helped train extremists who incite violence in American cities. Educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation.

Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

Structure

The IPS pamphlet entitled "The First Three Years" indicates the structure of the Institute to be as follows:

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BY SOURCE~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

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There are twenty-two individuals listed in the above-described pamphlet as being the Trustees of IPS, two individuals are listed as Co-directors and one individual as the Executive Officer. The Institute's faculty members are called Fellows, which are broken down into the subtitles of Resident Fellows, Visiting Fellows, and Associate Fellows.

A Resident Fellow is described as a permanent member of the Institute faculty.

A Visiting Fellow is a full-time faculty member for a limited period.

An Associate Fellow is considered to be a part-time faculty member who has led seminars on occasion, participated in social inventions, or has engaged in individual research projects supported by the Institute.

Note: Since the IPS pamphlet entitled "The First Three Years" appeared to be the only document published by the IPS, it is difficult to determine exactly who are their current officers, faculty and students.

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TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY

Raskin is also credited in a Washington Post newspaper article dated March 30, 1969, entitled "Military Influence Deplored," as urging at a conference on Military Budget and National Priorities, the dismantling of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Department and the National Security Agency within the next decade as the only sure way of reversing the "national security state . . . ."

According to a press release by U.S. Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier, Mr. Raskin also served as a group secretary for the "Liberal Papers," a collection of essays written by more than a dozen professors for a number of Democratic Congressmen, made public early in 1962. Among other things, the essays urged the United States to allow Russia to plug into this country's warning defense system (DEW); recognize and admit to the United Nations Communist East Germany, Red China, North Korea, and North Vietnam; unilaterally abandon nuclear tests; break up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); abandon Berlin and neutralize Central Europe under terms proposed by Communist Poland.

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In addition, a source advised on April 18, 1970, that Raskin was one of the speakers at a convention of Federal Employees For Peace, Equality, and Priorities held in WDC. Raskin stated in part that such Government agencies as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Secret Service, intelligence services of other Government agencies, and the military should be done away with in that order. He labeled these agencies as un-American. He stated that the capitalistic system in the United States is causing imperialism and aggression in other parts of the world, and that Federal employees should organize to encourage the Government to change these policies and to do away with the above-mentioned agencies.

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~Richard Jackson Barnet~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Richard Jackson Barnet

~~Richard Jackson Barnet~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Institute for Policy Studies~~ ~~North Vietnam~~

~~R.C.~~

~~Mass.~~

Co-director Richard Jackson Barnet has been publicly described as, A. B. Harvard University, L. L. B., Harvard Law School; formerly an official of the Department of State and the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Fellow of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University.

"The Examiner", a former WDC newspaper dated September 28 through October 1, 1967, page six, contains an article entitled "Another View of the 'think factory'." The article states in part that Richard Barnet, Co-director of the IPS, stated that the work of the Institute and its Fellows is completely independent. Government money is not accepted in any form, "Our hope is to develop a group of social entrepreneurs who can develop solutions to problems, prove their merits, and put them into action."

The Guardian newspaper dated March 16, 1968, page three, listed Richard J. Barnet as one of the sponsors of the New University Conference (NUC).

Among the publicly stated aims of the NUC are: unite faculty, graduate students and movement intellectuals, end the isolation which afflicts so many radicals, support radical scholarship and research, support the radicals now challenging the doctrines of the university establishment, expose university collaboration in war research and social manipulation, assist radicals in obtaining university positions and to provide defense support against the inevitable attacks of McCarthyites.

Barnet has been identified in the "Washington Post" newspaper, November 19, 1969, page C-5, as having been present in Hanoi, North Vietnam, at the time of the November 15th Peace Demonstration in WDC. Barnet was reported by the North Vietnamese to have said at a rally in Hanoi that the

Vietnamese are fighting "against the same aggressors that we will continue to fight in our country." Barnet denied making this statement.

The "Washington Post" newspaper dated October 12, 1969, page G-1, contained an article entitled "Report Urges Revolution in Television Ownership". The article states in part that "A privately-financed report produced by the Institute for Policy Studies and financed by the Stern Family Fund is entitled 'Television Today: The End of Communication and the Death of Community!'" The introduction to this report was written by Barnet and the report itself urges that control over television stations be placed in the hands of the public, in the form of local groups and communities. The report warns that if changes are not brought about by Government regulators or the industry, the right of regulation will more and more be assumed by local groups in the form of sit-ins, court challenges and confrontation tactics.

The "Washington Post" newspaper dated November 13, 1969, contains an article entitled "Broadcast Puts Author Barnet at Hanoi Talks." The article stated in part that Richard J. Barnet is on the advisory board of the newly formed news agency named Dispatch, formed to provide "in-depth reporting on important issues and events for national newspapers and the collegiate press." The Dispatch News Service is described publicly as the small news agency, for which Seymour M. Hersch wrote a story concerning Lieutenant William L. Caley, Jr. and his "premeditated murder" of 109 South Vietnamese villagers during combat March 16, 1968.

Barnet wrote an article entitled "View from Hanoi" which appeared in the WDC hippie-type newspaper "The Quicksilver Times", page nine, dated December 8 to 18, 1969. The article states in part:

"After a week of intensive discussions in Hanoi with Premier Pham Van Dong and other leaders it is clear

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

to me that North Vietnam needs and wants a political settlement. I arrived in Hanoi a few days after President Nixon's November 3 speech as a guest of the Vietnamese Jurists Association. The invitation had come to me because I had worked with the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, a group of lawyers who have challenged the legal basis of U.S. Vietnam policy.

"The November 3 Nixon speech, Premier Pham Van Dong told me, was a 'brazen challenge'. He and other leaders understand that Vietnamization is a strategy designed to make credible a U.S. involvement in South Vietnam of indefinite duration.

"While the Hanoi leadership believes that they are more than holding their own on the battle field, they see two favorable political trends. (1) The rising opposition to the war in the United States and (2) the deteriorating political strength of the Saigon government."

III. Leading IPS Staff Members

*of Institute for Policy Studies*

*N.W. W.L. M.D.*

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Ramparts magazine is publicly described as a West Coast based New Left oriented magazine.

has publicly advocated what he calls "creative disorder", described as the use of illegal or nearly illegal techniques to force revolutionary changes in society.

~~A - INFORMATION CONTAINED  
B - EXCEPT AS SHOWN  
C - OTHERWISE~~

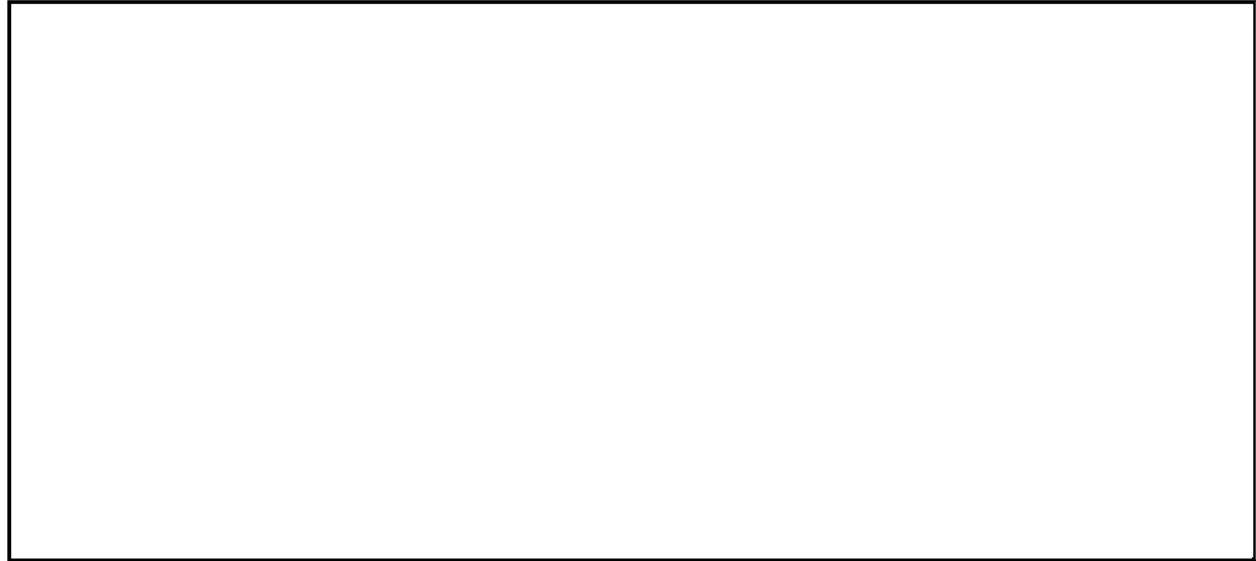
Another suggestion of [redacted] is the creation of community institutions, such as citizens groups to police the police, schools supposedly controlled by the students, and law firms that will cater to those in trouble over such an approach. Edith Kermit Roosevelt described the above as an entire framework of a shadow government with shadow institutions.

In addition, [redacted]

The SDS and NMC are characterized in the appendix pages.

Member of Institute for  
Policy Studies D.C.

NMC



MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

C. Karl Hess

(WF T-2, 9/4/69)  
B. APPROX 1423

Karl Hess has been publicly described in the December 6, 1970, issue of Potomac magazine, page fourteen. The article, entitled "Karl Hess is Aflame with the Idea That a Man Can Run His Own Life", states in part that "There used to be an arch Conservative coat-and-tie Karl Hess, one who climbed aboard Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign caravan, signed on as chief speechwriter." The article states further Hess would assist a Black Panther, an SDS, Weatherman or any activist he believes in. At forty-seven, Hess is an all-out New Left "anarchist".

"No petty doubts seem to trouble Karl Hess. The New Left direction seems clear enough to him - seceding, creating voluntary communities, resisting fat corporate monopolies, resisting 'outside' government control."

D. [REDACTED]

11. D.C.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

On July 13, 1970, a reliable source advised that [REDACTED] announced that [REDACTED] would receive a fellowship at the IPS.

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DATE 10/12/2014 BY [REDACTED]

(WF T-1, 7/70)

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On February 9, 1965, [redacted]

advised that [redacted]

[redacted] in WDC, as of February 9, 1965.

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SNCC is characterized in the appendix.

The Chicago, Illinois, Police Department (CPD),  
records show that [redacted]

A source advised that [redacted]

(WF T-1, 1/15/70) *u*

The NMC and the BPP are characterized in the  
appendix.

IV. IPS and the Unification of the New Left Factions

The IPS pamphlet entitled "The First Three Years"  
lists a "Conference on Youth in Politics" (June 1965). The

[redacted] Among those organizations represented at this  
conference were the SNCC, the Newark Community Union Project  
(NCUP) [redacted] was the NCUP representative, the  
Vietnam Day Committee (Jerry Rubin was the Vietnam Day  
Committee representative), the League for Industrial Democracy,  
the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), SDS, the  
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and the Congress  
of Racial Equality (CORE).

In regard to unifying the divergent factions of the New Left and Black militants, a source advised that the IPS sent several representatives to the Soviet dominated Third World Conference in Algeria in 1969.

(WF T-3, 7/14/69) ~~JK~~ *u*

In December of 1966 seven militant Negro groups, among them the BPP of New York, met at the IPS, to form a black power alliance.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION ("The Times Union" newspaper, Albany, New York, 12/9/66.)

In September, 1968, representatives of several disagreeing factions of the SNCC met at the IPS with IPS representative [redacted] to discuss their objections to the operation of the WDC SNCC Office.

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(WF T-4, 9/5/68) ~~JK~~ *u*

During July, 1970, a meeting was held at the IPS whose purpose was to unite the many independent Veterans Groups who are opposed to the war in Vietnam.

(WF T-5, 7/13/70) ~~JK~~ *u*

#### V. IPS Views on U.S. Domestic and Foreign Policy

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION  
D. [redacted] IPS Co-director Richard Barnet and IPS Trustee Hans Morganthau are advisors to the Council for a Livable World (CFLW) which is described as the third biggest spender among U.S. lobbyists. "A Senate report has described the Council's goals as unilateral disarmament and turning this country into a fourth rate power at the mercy of the international wolfpack."

"According to the same Senate document, the Council takes credit for assuring the original election victory of one

of the Senate's leading peaceniks, George McGovern (Democrat, South Dakota), by having its membership put \$22,000 into his campaign, enough to win a close contest in a sparsely populated state."

("Barron's" National Business and Financial Weekly magazine, 10/6/69. "Radical Think-Tank, the IPS Aims to Disarm the U.S.")

*MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION*

The IPS domestic policy calls for "community control through the device of neighborhood corporations". IPS Fellow Milton Kotler has set forth the following remarks regarding community control.

"Riots," wrote Mr. Kotler, "reflect the formation of a new local community power in combat with the established power . . . Unless existing established federal, state, and municipal governments transfer a proper portion of their authority in Negro communities, today's domestic warfare will grow." Kotler also advised that these neighborhood cooperatives must receive financial assistance from the federal government.

Kotler also has stated regarding the neighborhood cooperative: "It is necessary for the corporation both to have the power to tax its residents and to be able to dispose of its territory. This means the governmental power of eminent domain." He says it would be reasonable for the corporation "to control prices, rents, licensing and banking." Further, he would like communities to govern themselves based on custom rather than outside laws. Kotler states further: "The neighborhood organization must be prepared to defend gains in jurisdiction by the threat of war to any who would endeavor to deny these gains."

("Barron's" Weekly magazine dated 10/6/69 regarding IPS.)

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VI. Recent IPS Activities

A. Counter Institutions

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

In view of the success of IPS in developing and implementing theories, its present studies and projects for the future take on added significance. One plan is to set up a network of institutes like IPS all over the country to serve as counter-institutions to established ones." Gar Alperovitz and Christopher Jencks, both IPS Fellows, have launched one at Cambridge, Massachusetts. MAGS,

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

("Barron's" National Business and Financial Weekly magazine dated 10/6/69.)

A source advised that the IPS has provided sums of money in the thousands of dollars to the Center for the Study of Public Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, which appears to be identical to the above.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"According to

D/C

(WF T-6, 3/3/69)

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are setting up a Bay Area Institute in San Francisco. is view just completed an IPS study of "the possibility of workers' control of factories, based on Yugoslav model," now is in Toronto exploring the possibility of setting up an institute. is says IPS also is discussing the possibility of setting up one in the South. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

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Recently a source advised that the IPS has sent several thousand dollars to the Institute for Southern Studies in Atlanta, Georgia. GA.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

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(WF T-7, 1/5/71)

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MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

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B. IPS New Left Activities

Public source material has stated that IPS Fellow, Arthur Waskow, was one of the leaders of the NMC and has with the last year denounced the NMC as not being aggressive enough. Waskow, with New Left leader Iannie Davis, have advocated greater civil disruption to obtain their demands from the government. Public sources also have stated that Richard Barnet, IPS Co-director, was a founder of the Dispatch News Service, which is given credit for releasing the My Lai Massacre story to the public.

The WDC "Committee to Defend the Chicago Conspiracy 7" defendants was according to public source material comprised of several IPS associates. This Committee, in addition to soliciting support for Dave Dellinger, [redacted] Jerry Rubin, et al, was responsible for organizing the "TDA" demonstration in WDC which resulted in a march on Attorney General Mitchell's residence at the Watergate Apartments and an ensuing violent confrontation with the police.

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C. Association with the BPP

In an article entitled "Strikers Rally Today", it is stated in part that "GW activist will call for a student strike at a rally today. The demands are: End repression of black people, the Black Panther Party and the New Haven Nine; withdraw all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia; end University complicity with the war machine." Among the speakers were two IPS Associates, Arthur Waskow and Karl Hess.

("The Hatchet", a George Washington University student newspaper, page 1, 5/4/70)

A reliable source advised that various individuals of the IPS are in contact with the BPP Office, WDC, for a variety of reasons.

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

(WF T-8, 12/70) X 4

VII. Finances

IPS operates on an annual budget of approximately \$400,000 a year.

(WF T-7, 1/5/71) X 4

~~These monies are received in part from the Philip Stern Family Fund, the Ford Foundation, the Samuel Rubin Foundation and the Fontenay Corporation, through the generosity of James J. McGuire.~~ U.S.A. U.S.A.

(Pamphlet - "IPS - The First Three Years")

A.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

has been publicly identified as a trustee of the IPS and was also identified as the one who supplied the Dispatch News Service reporter  with the funds to research and write the May 1st ~~1969~~ story.

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B. The Ford Foundation

~~Philip~~  The Ford Foundation is headed by ~~McGeorge~~  Bundy who was an associate of L. L. Corrider Marcus Raskin when Bundy and Raskin worked together for the U.S. Government's National Security Council during the Kennedy Administration.  D.C.

("Barron's" National Business and Financial Weekly magazine dated 10/6/69, 10/13/69.)

C. The Samuel Rubin Foundation

~~X~~ The Samuel Rubin Foundation which is listed as an IPS financial supporter appears to be the same foundation which a source advised has contributed liberally to the Communist Party, U.S.A. in the past  u

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/10/2014 BY SP/ML

(WF T-9, 9/57) X 4

D. The Fontenay Corporation

James Paul Warburg (deceased) has been publicly described as a Trustee of the IPS and connected with the Fontenay Corporation.

A letter from a source regarding James Paul Warburg, dated June 27, 1946, stated that a file of a Government agency stated that Warburg, formerly of the Office of War Information, New York City, was generally regarded by informed circles to be a fellow-traveler, if not an outright Communist. The file dated September 20, 1944, and May 26, 1945, indicated Warburg has continued to follow the Communist Party line since he left the Office of War Information.

(WF T-10, 6/27/46)

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VIII. Anarchy and the IPS

In recent months several items have come to the attention of this Bureau which indicate that the IPS may be involved in activities which are in violation of criminal statutes.

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On May 26, 1970, a source advised that WDC telephone number [redacted] is listed to [redacted] WDC. The same source advised on June 10, 1970, that WDC telephone number [redacted] is a non-published number listed to [redacted] WDC. D.C. -

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(WFT-12, 5/26 and 6/10/70) 7K 4

Regarding Gerry Carl Hunnius

*(Canada)* D.C.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"According to Tina Smith, IPS administrative assistant . . . . Gerry Hunnius, having just completed an IPS study of the possibility of workers' control of factories, based on Yugoslav model, now is in Toronto exploring the possibility of setting up an institute."

("Barron's" National Business and Financial Weekly magazine 10/6/69, 10/13/69.)

Regarding [redacted]

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[redacted] has

been previously characterized.

**B. IPS's Research of Industrial Security Operations**

On August 21, 1970, a source of information from the Granite City Steel Company, Granite City, Illinois, advised this Bureau as follows:

"Gentlemen:

"The attached letter was received in the mail today. Perhaps the times we live in have made me superconscious of our Nation's security, but the better sounds a little shady to me.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

For example wouldn't this be a perfect way for a foreign power (or even radical Americans) to determine what it takes to destroy American industry?

"For all I know, the Institute for Policy Studies could be a communist front for an espionage operation."

(WF T-13, 8/21/70) *JK Y*

The letter to which the source is referring was typed with an IPS letterhead, dated August 17, 1970, and [redacted] The letter was addressed to Granite City Steel, Public Relations Department, Granite City, Illinois. It stated as follows:

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"Dear Sirs:

"I am doing a study of the problems of industrial security. As a starting point I would appreciate any written materials which you might have concerning this question including a biographical resume of the person or persons in charge of your security program. Thank you very much."

Regarding the above-letter, an article entitled "Left's Think-Tank Launches Campaign Against Security Forces" in "Combat" magazine, Volume 2, Number 19, dated October 1, 1970, page two, states in part: "In mid-August Raskin sent 'a copy of the above-letter' to the public relations department of 500 American companies. PR men habitually respond to such inquiries without asking questions themselves. Contacted by "Combat" Raskin said he was doing the research for a book which would show 'the class background and educational background of the men who head various programs, who are part of the business elite.' He said one of his

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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 OTHERWISE*

interests was to find out what happened to ex-military officers and ex-FBI Agents. Most American firms will not conceal the background of their security managers, but when a man who in the past has attacked national security programs (e.g., nuclear testing, skybolt missiles, et cetera) tries to compile a filing cabinet of dossiers on the men who guard the country's industrial plants, security agents are suspicious. Not suspicious enough though. Raskin told 'Combat' that he has received more than 200 replies."

"Combat" is a newsletter published by National Review, Incorporated, and is described as a newsletter that "keeps you informed about the revolutionary struggle in America today."

### C. Researching Government Intelligence Operations

Along these lines a source who is in a position to furnish reliable information advised that IPS "researchers" made a request of the Office of Public Safety (OPS), Agency for International Development (AID) in February of 1969. The IPS "researchers" demanded that access be granted immediately to the files to obtain the following data: Records about the establishment of the International Police Academy in WDC; records from 1954 to the present about OPS students who have been trained in the United States or at other AID sponsored institutions, their rank and position in international security forces at the time of their training and at present; syllabi from 1963 to the present of the International Police Academy programs, both general and specialized courses including the names of forces personnel and of similar records from 1954-1963 of the International Police Academy. Other data of a sensitive nature was also requested.

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WFT-14, 2/17/69) 78 4

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Students for a Democratic Society, commonly known as SDS, came into existence at a founding convention held during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," Marxist-Leninist ideology of various shadings became predominant during 1968-1969 with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. SDS moved from involvement in the civil rights struggle to an anti-Vietnam war position to advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist line linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. All major factions within SDS embrace Marxism-Leninism and identify internationally with China, Cuba and North Vietnam as countries leading the worldwide struggles against the United States. However, the Soviet Union was regarded as imperialist and with the Communist Party, United States of America, "revisionist" in nature.

SDS operated under a national constitution which called for an annual National Convention (NC) and quarterly National Council meetings wherein programs were initiated and debated. Three national officers were elected annually with a National Interim Committee to run the organization. Regional offices and college chapters elected delegates to the national meetings but each functioned independently on local matters. Its official publication "Fire" (formerly "New Left Notes") last appeared in December, 1969.

Internal factionalism of serious proportions developed during 1968 - 1969 and the following three factions evolved as a result of a split at the June, 1969, NC: Weatherman, Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The effect of the split on SDS chapters throughout the country was divisive. Some aligned with one or the other of the three major factions. Others, unable to identify with any faction, disassociated with SDS completely and changed names.

The SDS national office in recent years was located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was closed in February, 1970.

The Weatherman and RYM groups no longer consider themselves associated with SDS, and the WSA group refers to itself as the true SDS.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE SHOWN~~ Weatherman, WSA and RYM are characterized separately.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE  
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (NMC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The NMC is described as a national steering organization which specializes in the formation of local and national protest and demonstration activities through a coalition of local anti-Vietnam War and draft groups throughout the nation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who was National Chairman during the period of 1966 - 1967, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of the black people in the United States. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States and all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

A second source advised that in April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, New York City.

H. Rap Brown announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced that the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and would be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. Brown, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

A Federal warrant was issued for Brown on May 4, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging him with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting a riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).

A third source advised that as of May, 1970, SNCC has secured a lease on premises in Augusta, Georgia, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffeehouse" for GIs from nearby Fort Gordon, Georgia, to disseminate antiestablishment propaganda.

SNCC also has in the planning stage an Agrarian Reform Program for black tenant farmers and the resumption of classes at the H. Rap Brown Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.

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DATE 11/11/01 BY SP/MS

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),  
also known as  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to the official newspaper of the BPP, the BPP was started during December 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing; is...by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces...are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source two noted that [redacted] in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that [redacted] traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

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By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of [redacted] it was announced that [redacted] as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the movement nationally, SSOC and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

APPENDIX

APPENDIXSOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the masthead describes the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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OTHERWISE

July 5, 1985

William Webster  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
J. Edgar Hoover Building  
Washington, D.C. 20591

OUTSIDE SOURCE

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CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Privacy Act FOIA

Dear Sir:

In reviewing the information sent to me on March 1, 1985 (see attached), I find that the material is inaccurate, incomplete, and out dated. I believe further that all of the characterizations of my alleged activities as set-out in this material is irrelevant to the purposes of your agency.

I am therefore requesting that my record be amended by deleting any identification of my name with any political party, organization, association, or activity.

Would you please acknowledge receipt of this request within 10 days of this request (excluding of course Saturdays, Sundays and legal public holidays).

thank you

CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY: EX-12 E. F. W.M.  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION DATE  
10/1/2010



dan

DO  
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100-44753-60X

NOT RECORDED

OCT 21 1985

1- ENCLOSURE

OCT 22 1985

ORIGINAL FILED IN



FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

**Federal Bu**

1. E-LASQIIFICATION AND SECURITY LEVEL FROM  
FBI AUTOMATIC INFORMATION SYSTEM  
DATA SOURCE

~~SECRET~~

Washington, D.C. 20535

May 25, 1982

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APPRAISAL AGENCY  
AND FIR: D C : FICES

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Declassify: cm: OADR

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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AS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED.

This document classified "Secret" in its entirety.

In response to your name check request, the central files of this Bureau reveal

Classified and Extended by G-3  
Reason-PCIM II, 2.4.2 (2, 3)

Date of Review for Declassification August 25, 1992

1 - [REDACTED] (Attention:  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - AGGED (62-118736)  
Original & 1 -  
Request Received 4-6-82

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SEE NOTE PAGE (2)

**MAIL ROOM**

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.  
Believed old ad ad 100-4472-60X  
ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

第六章

July 30, 1985

OUTSIDE SOURCE

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Dear [redacted]

This is in response to your July 5 Privacy Act request to amend FBI records about you.

Records maintained in the FBI central records system, to the extent they are subject to exemption pursuant to Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a (j)(2) and (k)(2), are exempt from the amendment provisions of the Privacy Act, as described in Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 16.96 (b)(2). However, even though the records are exempt, it is the policy of this bureau to consider each request on an individual basis in order to reach an equitable determination consistent with the best interests of both the individual and the Government. Where amendment is appropriate, such action will be considered; where not appropriate, the exemption will be justification for denial of the request.

As you are aware, you are involved in civil litigation in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, civil action [redacted]. No FBI records relevant to this litigation can be altered or destroyed until final resolution of the case, at which time you can resubmit your amendment request. For now, we will make your letter a matter of official record in our files to preserve your objection to their contents.

I hope the above will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours, NOT RECORDED

OCT 21 1985

James K. Hall, Chief  
Freedom of Information-  
Privacy Acts Section  
Records Management Division

MAILED TO  
JUL 31 1985  
FBI  
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(Rm. 7338)

Exec AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Exec AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Exec AD LES \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Adm. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Insp. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Lab. \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Off. Cong. & Public Affs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Rec. Mgmt. \_\_\_\_\_  
Tech. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director's Secy. \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: Above responsive to request for expunction of several Bufiles. Requester is currently engaged in a civil action against the FBI. [redacted] in LCD is handling.

RJM:alw (4)

OCT 21 1985

ORIGINAL FILED IN

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - Mr. R.L. Shackelford

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REC-33

147735-61

March 19, 1971

1 - [redacted]

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Income tax returns, if available, for the years 1963 (when IPS was founded) through 1969 are requested concerning IPS and [redacted] and Richard Jackson Barnet. Specifically, Forms 990-A submitted by IPS are requested, as is the IPS request for tax-exempt status with supporting documents. Individual returns (Form 1040) from Caskin and Barnet are requested.

[redacted]

Richard Jackson Barnet resides at 1716 Portal Drive, N.W., Washington, D.C. His occupation is codirector of IPC. He was born May 7, 1929, in Boston, Massachusetts, and has Social Security Number 022-28-3709.

It is requested that no active investigation be conducted based solely on this request.

1 - 100-454040 [redacted]  
1 - [redacted] (Richard Jackson Barnet)

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HM:acs (10)

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DATE 5/12/88

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NOTE:

See memorandum R.L. Shackelford to Mr. C.D. Brennan, dated 3/18/71, captioned "Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., Internal Security - Miscellaneous" and prepared by HM:acs.

61APR121971

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 3/4/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.  
IS - MISC  
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOlet and LHM to the Bureau dated 2/22/71.

In order for WFO to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the financial situation of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and its principal leaders, WFO is requesting the Bureau to contact Headquarters, Internal Revenue Service (IRS), Washington, D. C., and obtain copies of the following documents:

The 1963, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69 IRS Forms 990-A for the IPS, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. Also requested is the IPS "request for a tax-exempt status" and all the supporting documents.

The individual tax returns (Form 1040) are requested for the following two individuals for the years 1963, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, and 69:

ST 109 REC-31 100-447935-61

MAR 3 1971

③ - Bureau  
3 - WFO

(1-WF100-45298) [REDACTED]  
(1-WF100-45302) (RICHARD J. BARNET)

NEW YORK  
WFO

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b7C

CMS:d1b  
(6)

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DATE 5/12/80 BY [REDACTED]

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5010-102

REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.

MAR 11 1 24 PM '71

SEN STUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) IN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT. I.E., IN EXCERPT, MAY BEA BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC 62-116395-842 HSC 62-116464-214  
ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
DEL.  DATE 9/19/75 DEL.  DATE 11/14/75

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

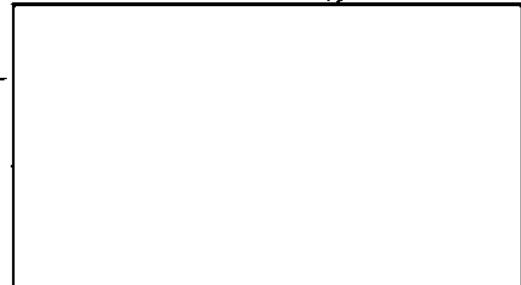
TO DEPT.

APR 9 1 12 PM '71

DOM INTELL DIV.

WFO 100-46784

Name:  
Social Security Number:  
Occupation:  
Date of birth:  
Place of birth:  
Residence:



b6  
b7

Name: RICHARD JACKSON ~~BARNET~~  
Social Security Number: 022-28-3709  
Occupation: Co-director, IPS  
Date of birth: May 7, 1929  
Place of birth: Boston, Massachusetts  
Residence: 1716 Portal Drive, N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 3/9/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-61761) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS  
OO: Washington Field

*THURSDAY 100-61761 P-1*  
Enclosed for Bureau and Washington Field Office *P-1*  
is one copy each of an article appearing in the March,  
1971, issue of Esquire Magazine regarding captioned  
organization. The copy containing the original caricatures  
from the magazine is being forwarded to Washington  
Field Office.

ENC. BEHIND FILE  
ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 1)  
2 - Washington Field (100-46784) (RM) (Enc. 1)  
2 - San Francisco (RM) (Enc. 1)  
JFS:mba  
(6)

EX-104

REC-1

100-447935-62

13 MAR 11 1971

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MAR 18 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-103

W. B. B. / NEWSPAPER

b6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

March 3, 1971

The attached article "Radicalizing  
The State Department" was sent  
to the Director from [redacted]

[redacted] and the following note  
was written thereon:

"Dear Sir: -

Is this true?

Have you seen this article -

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hcv

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DATE 5/2/01 BY SP/2

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED\*



12-1000-  
3/10/71  
FBI/DC  
S/Red

91020

EX-11A

Dr. Edgar Hoover  
Office of Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

447935-63  
9 MAR 23 1971

CORRESPONDENCE

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✓  
MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MULVAN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MORSE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. BISHOP \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. BRENNAN C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CALLAHAN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CASPER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CONRAD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. DALBEY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. FELT \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. GALE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TAYEL \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. WALTERS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. SOYARS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. JONES \_\_\_\_\_  
TELE. ROOM \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS HOLMES \_\_\_\_\_  
MRS. METCALF \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

THE WANDERER

THE SCOTT REPORT

Dear Mr. —

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DATE

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February 25, 1971

# Radicalizing The State Department

Article

By PAUL SCOTT

EXP. PROG.

WASHINGTON — The State Department's Foreign Service Institute is taking President Nixon's advocacy of a "New American Revolution" in a way that might surprise him.

Its officials have arranged for strategists of the far-Left Institute of Policy Studies to lecture State Department personnel on subjects ranging from "The American Anarchist Tradition" to "The International Outlook Of The New Left."

The first of these "brain-washing" sessions took place last week as part of a Foreign Service Institute seminar on "The New Left — An International Overview."

Missing from the seminar's schedule of speakers were any experts on the New Left from the Justice Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, or Congressional committees.

The panel's four days of meetings were loaded with lecturers known for their own promotion of militant anti-war groups opposing the Nixon Administration's Vietnam policy and favoring radical changes in our present system of government. Only two pro-Administration speakers were invited for "window dressing."

Scheduled to speak for the revolution advocating Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) are Richard J. Barnet, co-director of the "Think Tank" group, and Karl Hess, long-time speech writer for Senator Barry Goldwater and now an advocate of doing away with all government.

Barnet served in the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Kennedy Administration. He is now one of IPS's chief strategists supporting revolutionaries both in the streets and inside government.

In 1969, Barnet traveled to Hanoi and met with Government-sponsored Communist anti-U.S. groups and coordinated plans for anti-war actions against U.S. defense of South Vietnam.

How much, if any, influence the two IPS officials had on Foreign Service Institute officials to set up the seminar isn't known. However, sources from within the IPS report that its leaders have been discussing privately for weeks ways to radicalize State Department personnel. One of their objectives is to encourage Foreign Service officials to openly oppose the Administration's Vietnam policy.

## LIFTING THE LID

Organized here eight years ago, the Institute of Policy Studies is considered to be one of the most influential far-Left operations in the United States. It receives and spends more than a half-million dollars a year operating its Washington headquarters and supporting key leaders in the anti-war, revolutionary movements in the Country.

Financing has come from the Edgar Stern family fund, the Ford Foundation, Field Foundation, Samuel Rubin Foundation, Irving Lauck, the Institute for In-

ternational Order, and the "Fon-taney Corp." through the generosity of late James P. Warburg, who was an IPS trustee until his death in 1969.

Marcus Raskin, a co-director of IPS, served as the coordinator of the LIBERAL PAPERS, a collection of radical essays, published in 1962. These writings urged admission to the United Nations for East Germany, China, North Korea, and Vietnam. They also urged for the United States to unilaterally abandon all nuclear tests, break-up NATO, and neutralize Central Europe under terms proposed by Communist Poland.

One of IPS's most active "Fellows" is Dr. Arthur J. Waskow. The radical anti-war leader was one of the IPS-supported revolutionaries that met last June in Milwaukee to plan the coming April-May demonstrations designed to disrupt Washington.

Since its inception, IPS has tried to disarm the United States and fought military defense through "seminars," chiefly for Liberal members of Congress and their assistants. The "Think Tank" also trained bright young college graduates to take positions on Congressional staffs and Government agencies to push IPS's radical policies.

## OPENING THE DOOR

The Foreign Service Institute's open invitation for the IPS strategists to lecture to State

Department personnel opens vast revolutionary possibilities for the far-Left group.

For the first time, IPS officials have received the official blessing of the State Department to "sell" their kind of radical Socialist revolution to its employees, on Government property, and during time paid for by American taxpayers.

Unless countermanded by the White House, the State Department action raises some serious questions about the kind of "New American Revolution" President Nixon is seeking.

The appearance of the IPS radicals also raises the question of whether President Nixon is being kept fully informed on information gathered on the IPS by the Justice Department, Internal Revenue Service, and Congressional committees.

Their files show that the IPS has channeled its funds and talents into building the anti-war movement and helping leaders of some of the most violent demonstrations and protests since 1963.

Note: A Justice Department report reveals that Chérif Guéllal, former Algerian Ambassador to the United States, is now a "Fellow" on the IPS staff. Although Algeria broke off diplomatic relations with the United States in 1967, the State Department has permitted Guéllal to remain in the United States at the urging of IPS.

(Continued on Page 10)

# FEAR, THE

By FR. F.G. CONNOLLY

Does fear have a place in the Christian life? Absolutely, says the author, if it has the proper motivations. We begin a series of five articles by Fr. Connolly on the virtue of fear — a virtue which lately has not received much attention from theologians to say nothing of ordinary Christians.

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Light from the Eternal City

Pope Paul VI . . .

## What The Gospels Reveal About Christ

At his general audience on Feb. 10th, Pope Paul turned to the Gospels in his continuing teaching on the personal nature of Christ. The Holy Father, concluding his address, reminded his listeners of the three early Councils which provided the infallible, dogmatic formulae about the Church's belief in Christ. He then declared: "We end here, resolving to live in ourselves that mystery of the Incarnation into which we have been led by baptism and faith. . . ."

Ever since Christinas We have set out to offer Our visitors to these familiar weekly conversations — as though more out of curiosity than for the purpose of study — some ideas about Jesus, what He looked like, as a human being, a moral person.

There is still a great deal that could be said, but we have already gone a long way if we see and feel the fascination of this theme. This is why We return to it again. We want to offer you two lines of thought by way of a summing up: We exhort each of you to look into your Christian consciences, which have been schooled in our Catholic Faith, and search for the answers to two questions: Who was Jesus?

that they exceed all our measurements, ought to attract, not disconcert us. So let us turn our attention this time to that first stimulating question: Why was Jesus?

### "WHO IS JESUS?"

Let us begin by noting at once that this question lies at the very heart of the Gospel. We might say that the story which the Gospel tells is woven entirely around this question of Jesus' real identity: Who is Jesus? "Is He not the carpenter's son?" (Mt. 13, 55) That is how public opinion viewed Him. "Is this not the son of Mary?" (Mk. 6, 3) — those who were better informed knew something about Him.

On March 3rd, 1969, Pope Paul VI, speaking to a group of Lenten preachers of the Diocese of Rome, made this urgent appeal: "It is sorrowful to see many today — and among them many Catholics — living as though their only

aim in life is to thought of earthly things. Even though able in films etc. to die as the Church. That for the following

"There should be the primary in causing to necessary the subject manner; the Church is before me

*"No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist."*

PIUS XI. Quad. Anno (1931)

VOLUME 105, NO. 8

National Catholic Weekly Founded Oct. 7, 1867



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 3/19/71

FROM: SAC, EL PASO (100-6278) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
(IPS)

1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: WFO

ReBulet to WFO, 2/5/71.

Contacts with EP informants and sources during the period 2/9/71 - 3/17/71, have developed no information that projects and plans outlined in the IPS working paper are being implemented in the territory covered by the EP Division. Appropriate informants and sources have been alerted concerning projected plans of the IPS and any positive information subsequently developed will be furnished promptly to the Bureau and interested offices.

(2-Bureau (RM)  
2-WFO (100-46784) (RM)  
1-El Paso

VJA:sf  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/2/21 BY SP-41

b6  
b7c

5 MAR 20 1971

REC-7

100-14117935

March 8, 1971

b6  
b7C

Dear [redacted]

The news article containing your note was received on March 3rd and I appreciate your interest in bringing this to my attention. In reply to your inquiry, information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sending a copy of this article to the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C., for any help he can give you.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer Hostetler

FILED 13.1  
FBI  
1 - Washington Field - Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/82

b6  
b7C

NOTE: There is no record of correspondent in Bufiles. Handwritten notation appears on an article which criticizes the State Department for allowing representatives of the Institute of Policy Studies to lecture at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute. The Institute of Policy Studies is the subject of a current Security Matter--Miscellaneous investigation. The article notes that representatives of the FBI and other Federal investigative agencies were not scheduled to appear as lecturers. An invitation for an FBI speaker cannot be identified in Bufiles. Copy sent to State Department by form referral this date. Following approval, correspondence should be routed to the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate attention.

26 MARCH 1971 F-211  
MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D.   
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 3/24/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - MISC.

Re Bureau let to WFO, dated 2/5/71.

To date WFO has received no information as to the identity of the author or authors of the paper contained in the referenced letter. It is also not known whether the paper has been accepted by IPS leaders.

WFO is checking the following names through indices in order to set out appropriate leads for other Field Offices: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], W. HOPPS, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the [REDACTED] family, the Field Foundation, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the Stern Fund.

B  
b6  
b7C

1-924D

③ Bureau  
1 - WFO

CMS:mm1  
(4)

EX-103

REC-65

100-467935-65

17 MAR 25 1971

PT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/01 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

26/3/01  
NEW YORK



Mar 31 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C.D. Brennan

FROM : R.L. Shackelford

SUBJECT : INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)

1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

PURPOSE:

To recommend that we send attached memorandum to Internal Revenue Service requesting income tax returns on IPS and on [redacted] Richard Jackson Barnet, [redacted] IPS, for years 1963 (when IPS was founded) through 1969.

BACKGROUND:

IPS has been characterized as the "Think Factory" of the New Left which helps train extremists who incite violence and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. It is a nonprofit, nontaxable organization which studies Government policies and offers alternative policies. It exerts considerable influence through contacts with educators, Congress and labor [redacted] Barnet [redacted] in IPS. IPS receives its funds from private foundations. In view of their New Left activity, additional investigation is warranted to determine the sources of income and assets of IPS, [redacted] Barnet. If you approve, attached memorandum should be returned to the Domestic Intelligence Division so that these income tax returns can be obtained and reviewed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached memorandum be approved requesting income tax returns of IPS, Barnet [redacted] for 1963 through 1969.

Enclosure

1 - 100-454040 [redacted]

(Richard Jackson Barnet)

HM:acs aca

(8)

b3  
b7E

REC-33

100-447935-67

8 MUR 30 1971

UNRECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/1/2014 BY SP151971

b6  
b7C

NEW LEFT

100-454040-1  
Approved and forwarded  
to [redacted] by SP151971, 3/6/71, GAD/BS

DOM INTELL DIV.

MAR 19 8 33 AM 1971

REC'D C. J. BRENNAN  
FBI JUSTICE

APR 13 3:56 PM '71

REC'D SULLIVAN  
FBI JUSTICE

MAR 18 4:43 PM 1971

RECEIVED-TOLSON  
F B I

REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.

MAR 26

1:25 PM '71

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F. B. I.

MAR 19 10 05 AM 1971

MAR 19 11 51 AM '71

SEN/STUDY 78

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND HOUSE SELEC COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. THAN AS REPRESENTED BY FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT MADE FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUREAU S. 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC 62-116395-542

DATE

ACC.

DATE

ACG.

DATE

DEV.

DATE

DEIA

MISC. DOCUMENTS FURNISHED O-SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUREAU 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED TO DEPT.

DOM INTELL DIV.

MAR 19 3 27 PM '71

MAR 19 3 34 PM 1971

REC'D C. J. BRENNAN  
FBI JUSTICE

REC'D C. J. BRENNAN  
FBI JUSTICE

MAR 26 1 45 PM 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

FROM : SAC, DALLAS (100-12174) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: WFO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 3/30/71

Re Bureau letter to WFO, captioned as above,  
dated 2/5/71.

The following security informants and sources  
have advised, on dates indicated, that there is no IPS  
within the Dallas Division area and no indication of  
any forming:

2/9/71; 3/26/71  
2/10/71; 3/23/71  
2/9/71; 3/19/71

(U)

On 2/10/71 and 3/23/71, [redacted]  
[redacted] Intelligence Unit, Dallas FD, advised  
that through contact with his sources, there is no IPS  
within the Dallas area at this time.

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In view of above, no further action being  
taken by Dallas, UICB.

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CLASS: 5/12/80  
REASON: FCIW 11, 1-2-4-2  
DATE OF REVIEW: 3/30/91

REC-15

111 111

68

5/12/80  
CLASS: 5/12/80  
REASON: FCIW 11, 1-2-4-2  
DATE OF REVIEW: 3/30/91

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01-01-1971 BY 01-01-1971

APR 1 1971

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - WFO (RM)  
1 - Dallas  
JWA/pd  
(5)

APR 3 1971

1. NEW LEFT

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-25719) RUC

DATE: 4/15/71

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.  
SM - MISCELLANEOUS  
OO: WFO

Re Philadelphia letter to Bureau, 1/15/71; and  
WFO letter to Bureau, 12/10/70.

On 4/1/71, [redacted]  
Hercules, Inc., Wilmington, Delaware, advised as follows  
(the letter [redacted] refers to is exactly as set out  
in the LHM enclosed with the WFO letter dated 12/10/70  
and is not being restated here):

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A letter dated 8/17/70 was received at the  
Public Relations Dept. for Hercules from the captioned  
organization.

He did not respond to the letter because of  
the nature of the inquiry and because the letter had been

[redacted]  
He had read an article dated December, 1967,  
from the "Washingtonian" captioned "Intellectual Bomb  
Throwers" which described the Institute for Policy Studies,  
as well as [redacted] in particular. Because of the nature  
of the article, he did not want to honor the request  
in the letter in any way or to take the time to respond.

ST-114

1-9241  
2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)  
2 - WFO (100-46784)  
(REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - Baltimore  
REZ:msg  
(5)

REC-22

10 APR 16 1971

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/08 BY [signature]

REVIEWED BY [signature]

55 APR 21 1971

TO: SAC:

Albany       Houston  
 Albuquerque       Indianapolis  
 Alexandria       Jackson  
 Anchorage       Jacksonville  
 Atlanta       Kansas City  
 Baltimore       Knoxville  
 Birmingham       Las Vegas  
 Boston       Little Rock  
 Buffalo       Los Angeles  
 Butte       Louisville  
 Charlotte       Memphis  
 Chicago       Miami  
 Cincinnati       Milwaukee  
 Cleveland       Minneapolis  
 Columbia       Mobile  
 Dallas       Newark  
 Denver       New Haven  
 Detroit       New Orleans  
 El Paso       New York City  
 Honolulu       Norfolk

Oklahoma City  
 Omaha  
 Philadelphia  
 Phoenix  
 Pittsburgh  
 Portland  
 Richmond  
 Sacramento  
 St. Louis  
 Salt Lake City  
 San Antonio  
 San Diego  
 San Francisco  
 San Juan  
 Savannah  
 Seattle  
 Springfield  
 Tampa  
 Washington Field  
 Quantico

TO LEGAT:

Beirut  
 Bern  
 Bonn  
 Brasilia  
 Buenos Aires  
 Caracas  
 Hong Kong  
 London  
 Madrid  
 Manila  
 Mexico City  
 Ottawa  
 Paris  
 Rome  
 Singapore  
 Tel Aviv  
 Tokyo

RE:

Date May 28, 1975

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
SM - MISCELLANEOUS**

Retention      For appropriate  
 For information       optional       action       Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
 The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report,  conceal all sources,  paraphrase contents.  
 Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_  
dated \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

**Re. PG letter, 4/14/71.**

**Classify relet per 3347, Category 2, Indefinite, as of 5/28/75.**

LQB/tae

File COPY

5-143

Enc.      **100-447935**  
Bufile      **PG 100-16460**  
Urfile      **WFO 100-46784**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/88 BY [Signature]

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 4/19/71

FROM: SAC, HOUSTON (100-11903) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
(IPS)

1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE  
NW, WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IS-MISC  
(OO: WFO)

Re Bu let, 2/5/71 and HO let, 12/21/70.

Since receipt of referenced Bureau letter, no information has been developed through established sources or informants relative to captioned matter.

In the event any information is developed concerning this matter, Bureau and origin will be immediately advised.

1 - 46784  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - WFO (100-46784) (Info) (RM)  
1 - Houston  
DCS/sjm  
(4)

REC-66/100-447935-71

6 APR 22 1971

b6  
b7C



54 APR 26 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/80

NEW/EEFT

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

14-12111  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 005 AT PLAIN

6:09 PM URGENT 4/21/71 ELS

TO DIRECTOR

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIV  
FROM ATLANTA 100-NEW 4P

INAPPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ABOUT PLANNING

TELETYPE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Classified*  
*7/12/80*

INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION  
PLANNED AT STOCKHOLDERS MEETING, GULF OIL CORPORATION, ATLANTA  
GA., APRIL TWENTYSEVEN, SEVENTYONE. IS. - MISC.

A SOURCE HAS ADVISED IN APRIL, SEVENTYONE, THAT PERSONS  
ASSOCIATED WITH INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES (ISS), FIVE  
FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GA., ARE CURRENTLY MAKING PLANS TO  
DEMONSTRATE AGAINST GULF OIL CORPORATION AT A STOCKHOLDERS  
MEETING TO BE HELD IN ATLANTA ON APRIL TWENTYSEVEN, SEVENTYONE.  
SOURCE ADVISES THAT ISS IS PLANNING ON ADDITIONAL PARTICIPATION  
FROM AREAS OUTSIDE ATLANTA, PLANS TO INFILTRATE THE STOCKHOLDERS  
MEETING THROUGH THE USE OF PROXIES, AND INTENDS TO DISRUPT THE  
MEETING, CREATE CONFUSION AND POSSIBLY CONDUCT PICKETING ACTION  
OUTSIDE THE MEETING. ~~(U)~~ REG-41 100-4471-72

ABOVE MENTIONED SOURCE HAD ADVISED IN JULY, SEVENTY, THAT APR 29 1971  
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS) HAD OPENED A NEW OFFICE AT  
END PAGE ONE

"cc to 1010  
62 MAY 30 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Brennan  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Dalbey  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Sayers  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

b6

b7C

b6  
b7C

CLASS. & EXP. BY  
REASON-FORM II  
DATE OF REVIEW 4/21/97

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE TWO

AT 100-NEW

FIVE FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GA., AND SOURCE THEREAFTER INDICATED THAT SAID ORGANIZATION WAS ALLEGED TO BE STUDYING THE EFFECTS OF WAR ON THE SOUTHERN ECONOMY, THAT IT WAS CONDUCTING RESEARCH ON WAR RELATED INDUSTRIES IN THE SOUTH, THAT ITS PURPOSE WAS TO IDENTIFY WAR RELATED INDUSTRIAL CONTRACTORS IN THE ATLANTA AREA AND DETERMINE THE EXTENT OF THE PART PLAYED BY THESE CONTRACTORS IN THE "MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX".

IN FEB., SEVENTYONE, SOURCE SAID THE ATLANTA GROUP WAS THEN BEING REFERRED TO AS THE "INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES".

THE IPS HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED, IN PART, IN AN ARTICLE IN "THE EXAMINER", WASHINGTON, D.C., WEEKLY NEWSPAPER, DATED SEPT. TWENTYFOUR, SIXTYSEVEN, PAGE TWENTYTWO, BY ONE EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT AS A WASHINGTON BASED "THINK FACTORY" WHICH HELPED TRAIN EXTREMISTS WHO INCITE VIOLENCE IN U.S. CITIES, AND WHOSE EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH SERVES AS A COVER FOR INTRIGUE AND POLITICAL AGITATION. THROUGH ITS CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS, THE IPS EXERTS A CONTINUING INFLUENCE ON THE IDEOLOGY AND TACTICS OF THE NEW LEFT, ACCORDING TO ROOSEVELT.

A LENGTHY ARTICLE IN THE APRIL NINETEEN, SEVENTYONE ISSUE OF "THE GREAT SPECKLED BIRD", ATLANTA NEW LEFT UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER, PURPORTEDLY BASED UPON DATA COMPILED BY THE ISS FROM REPORTS BY THE "AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA" AND THE "COMMITTEE OF RETURNED VOLUNTEERS", ANNOUNCES THE PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AGAINST GULF OIL CORPORATION TO THE PUBLIC AND ADVISES THAT SAME WILL COMMENCE AT

END PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE THREE

AT 100-NEW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TEN AM, APRIL TWENTYSEVEN, AT THE ALLIANCE THEATER, FIFTEENTH AND PEACHTREE, LOCATION OF THE GULF STOCKHOLDERS MEETING. THE ARTICLE INDICATES THE ACTION WILL BE THE FOCUS FOR SEVERAL GROUPS WORKING AGAINST U.S. - SUPPORTED RACISM AND COLONIALISM IN AFRICA, AND CHARGES THAT, THROUGH ITS OPERATIONS IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN AFRICA, GULF IS "A PRINCIPAL BULWARK AND PROFITEER OF THE WHITE MAN'S CONTROL OF AFRICA". IT INDICATES THE SOUTHERN AFRICA TASK FORCE OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BACKED BY A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL STOCKHOLDERS, HAS INCLUDED FOUR PROPOSALS ON THE MEETINGS AGENDA, ALL OPPOSED BY GULF MANAGEMENT, WHICH PROPOSALS ARE 1) TO ESTABLISH A COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE GULF'S INVOLVEMENT IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA; 2) TO DISCLOSE GULF'S "CHARITABLE GIFTS"; 3) TO ENLARGE THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO REPRESENT THE INTEREST OF PEOPLE AFFECTED BY GULF; AND 4) TO TERMINATE GULF'S OPERATIONS IN COLONIAL RULED AREAS. ISS STATES SUPPORTERS OF THE PROPOSALS "WILL BE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE MEETING TO MAKE SURE THE ISSUES ARE DEALT WITH -- ISSUES OF THIRD WORLD COLONIALISM AND RACISM, OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS' ACCOUNTABILITY TO HUMAN NEEDS.

ATLANTA POLICE DEPARTMENT, U.S. SECRET SERVICE, ATLANTA, ONE ELEVENTH MILITARY INTELLIGENCE GROUP, FT. MC PHERSON, HAVE BEEN ADVISED.

[REDACTED] ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, SECURITY DEPARTMENT,  
GULF OIL CO., HOUSTON, TEXAS, COGNIZANT.

END PAGE THREE

16  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FOUR

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE WHO FURNISHED INFORMATION SET FORTH ABOVE IS IDENTIFIED  
AS [REDACTED] (U)

*PN-1*  
b7D

ATLANTA WILL CLOSELY FOLLOW THIS MATTER AND WILL KEEP THE  
BUREAU ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

LHM WILL BE SUBMITTED UPON CONCLUSION OF ACTIVITY.

AM COPY BEING FURNISHED WFO, OO IN CASE INVOLVING IPS.

END

EJF FBI WASH DC

*1 F*  
*1 (1)*

MR 17 271971

F B I 1071  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

APR 26 7 29 PM '71

RECEIVED-GALE

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

RE: R. I. NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCUSIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

ACC.	DATE	ACC.	DATE
SSC	12-118464-244		
DATE		DATE	
DEL.	DEL.		DATE 11/14/75
DATE			

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 103-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

TO DEPT.



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>WASHINGTON FIELD</b>	DATE <b>4/29/71</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>4/16/71 - 4/27/71</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS) 1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C.</b>		REPORT MADE BY  [Redacted]	b6 TYPED BY  L/C lew
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - MISCELLANEOUS</b>	

REFERENCES: San Francisco report of FRANCIS T. DAVIS, dated 6/15/70.  
Washington Field report of [Redacted] dated 10/16/70.

b6  
b7CADMINISTRATIVE:

-C- APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
-AT- [Redacted]  
-AT- [Redacted]  
-TP (C, OF [Redacted] Class: 7-18-80/C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Pretext interviews of [Redacted] 11/20/70 and  
1/15/71, were conducted by SA [Redacted] who employed the

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b7C

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE		100-	447935-74
11 - Bureau (100-447935) (RM)		REG-68	
2 - Washington Field (100-46784)			
2 - San Francisco (1 - 100-61761)			
0-7 to SF, WFO copy attached			
R16 to AF: 014n, Army: 014n, IRS: 014, Navy: 014d, Dept (ESS) 0-6, see attached 014n for NOTE! 4/28/70			
S/13/80 CLASS. & EXT. BY REASON-FCTM II, 1-2-4-2-22			

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b7C

DATE OF REVIEW 4/29/71

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	Agency	OSI, USAFC, IRS, OMT, ISD
Request Recd.		
Date Fwd.	5/10/71	15/71
How Fwd.	by R. S.	
By	54	1070-9240
		4cc destroyed

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b7

ALL CLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE STATED OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DOM INTELL. DIV.

MAY 4 5 33 PM '71

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE S 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

*62-116464-214*

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. *✓*

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

TO DEPT.

SF 100-61761

TJP:dew

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

pretext of being a Pacific Gas and Electric Official who had received a letter from the IPS requesting industrial security information and who understood that the BAI was affiliated with IPS and could provide information concerning IPS.

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The representative of the FBI who interviewed [redacted] on 12/7/70 was SA [redacted]

On 4/26/71, [redacted] [redacted] Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco, California, was contacted by SA [redacted] and asked if the policy of his bank would permit providing information concerning the account of an organization under investigation by the FBI. After consulting with the Head Cashier of the bank, [redacted] advised he could not provide any information concerning an account without a subpoena duces tecum.

It should be noted as a matter of administrative interest that during a telephonic pretext of the BAI in 9/70, it was learned that [redacted] who was previously reported to be associated with the BAI, as set out in first referenced report, had only been associated with the BAI on one event in 4/70, had no current connection with the BAI, and was living and working [redacted]

Inasmuch as investigation has failed to determine any affiliation between the IPS and the BAI, investigation of the IPS at San Francisco is being placed in a closed status. San Francisco will continue to follow the activities of the BAI; and in the event that such an affiliation is subsequently established, this investigation will be reopened.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ since the unauthorized disclosure of information provided by SF T-1 through SF T-4 could reasonably result in the identification of informants and sources of continuing value, compromise their future effectiveness, and thus could be injurious to the defense interests of the United States. (U)

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COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 100-61761  
TJP:dew

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMANTS

INFORMANT

SF T-1 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-2 is

[REDACTED]

LOCATION

100-61761-24

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b7D

100-61761-24

(U)

(PROTECT BY REQUEST)

SF T-3 is

[REDACTED]

100-61761-41

SF T-4 is

[REDACTED]

Instant Report

(PROTECT BY REQUEST)

C\*

COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of:  
Date:

[redacted]

Office: San Francisco, California

b6  
b7C

Field Office File #: 100-61761

Bureau File #: 100-447935

Title:

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

b6  
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Synopsis:

[redacted] the Bay Area Institute (BAI), advised that the BAI has no connection with, or direct knowledge of, the IPS other than knowledge obtained through two studies BAI conducted for IPS on a contract basis. [redacted]

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## DETAILS:

During November, 1970, a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) contacted the BAI, 9 Sutter Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California. An unidentified representative of the BAI advised that while [redacted] the IPS are known to the BAI, the BAI is not affiliated with the IPS.

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CLASS. EX-  
REASON-FCIN 11  
DATE OF REVIEW 5/12/80

This information should not be made public without an issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

5/23/80  
Declassified  
by 3247-

TJS/dk  
2/6/77  
D.L.  
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 100-61761

TJP:dew

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On November 20, 1970, and again on January 15, 1971, [redacted] was interviewed by a representative of the FBI under a suitable pretext. [redacted] stated on both occasions that the BAI was not the West Coast Office of the IPS, nor is it in any way connected with IPS. He advised that he knew [redacted] and through him had obtained two subcontracts which required work in the San Francisco area. These subcontracts dealt primarily with obtaining figures regarding trade between the West Coast and Far Eastern Countries. [redacted] stated that as far as he knew, the IPS was a nonprofit educational program that accepts contracts from anyone to do research. [redacted] stated that he knew of no projects conducted by the IPS other than the two which the BAI participated in under contract.

On December 7, 1970, a representative of the FBI interviewed [redacted] BAI, at 9 Sutter Street, Room 300, San Francisco, which is the office of the BAI. No other organization was listed on BAI's door or on its stationery. [redacted] appeared to work in one room of the office space, and two other rooms appeared to be used for research by two white males and one white female, all of whom were in their early 20s. [redacted] as reluctant to discuss anything with the FBI representative.

[redacted] attended a Students For A Democratic Society (SDS) conference here at Richmond, California, on August 2, 1969.

[SF T-1, 8/29/69.] ~~(U)~~

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the Appendix.

[redacted] appeared on a panel discussion in New York City to discuss the problems of pollution; and in reference to Consolidated Edison, a New York utility, [redacted] said that if Consolidated Edison did not take steps to solve pollution problems, the only alternative would be to blow up their plant.

[SF T-2, 1/26/70.] ~~(U)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 100-61761

TJP:dew

~~OO~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On January 26, 1971, SF T-3 advised that he visited the offices of the BAI. In conversation with unidentified individuals at this location, source was told that

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On April 21, 1971, SF T-4 advised that

(U)

~~OO~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Students for a Democratic Society, commonly known as SDS, came into existence at a founding convention held during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," Marxist-Leninist ideology of various shadings became predominant during 1968-1969 with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. SDS moved from involvement in the civil rights struggle to an anti-Vietnam war position to advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist line linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. All major factions within SDS embrace Marxism-Leninism and identify internationally with China, Cuba and North Vietnam as countries leading the worldwide struggles against the United States. However, the Soviet Union was regarded as imperialist and with the Communist Party, United States of America, "revisionist" in nature.

SDS operated under a national constitution which called for an annual National Convention (NC) and quarterly National Council meetings wherein programs were initiated and debated. Three national officers were elected annually with a National Interim Committee to run the organization. Regional offices and college chapters elected delegates to the national meetings but each functioned independently on local matters. Its official publication "Fire" (formerly "New Left Notes") last appeared in December, 1969.

Internal factionalism of serious proportions developed during 1968-1969 and the following three factions evolved as a result of a split at the June, 1969, NC: Weatherman, Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The effect of the split on SDS chapters throughout the country was divisive. Some aligned with one or the other of the three major factions. Others, unable to identify with any faction, disassociated with SDS completely and changed names.

The SDS national office in recent years was located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was closed in February, 1970.

The Weatherman and RYM groups no longer consider themselves associated with SDS, and the WSA group refers to itself as the true SDS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY~~SECRET~~

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and [redacted]

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[redacted]  
to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

Source advised on May 25, 1970, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX~~SECRET~~

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT~~SECRET~~

A source advised that the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II) faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held a national conference at Atlanta, Georgia, from November 26 to 30, 1969. At this conference it was decided to form a new organization to be known as Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), characterized as a mass anti-imperialist youth organization, said organization being proposed as separate and distinct in form and content from SDS. The "Principles of Unity" adopted by the conference included a struggle against white supremacy and male supremacy; fights against imperialism, anticomunism, fascism and oppression of youth; and support of the right of self-determination of all "oppressed nations," also support of the right of all "oppressed and exploited" peoples "to armed self-defense." It was agreed that RYM would not be a Marxist-Leninist organization; however, source said this was decided in order to indicate an organization broad enough in form to be acceptable to everyone. A temporary National Steering Committee (NSC) made up of eight females and two males was elected to govern RYM until national officers could be elected during the Spring of 1970.

RYM publications have listed the RYM National Office (NO) at Post Office Box 5421 and Post Office Box 77012 C, both Atlanta, Georgia, and a second source has advised that the NO has no office space but would probably be considered as located at Apartment 27, 1067 Alta Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta.

Second source advised that women dominated the founding conference and have continued to dominate NSC meetings to the point that "women's liberation" has apparently become the RYM's principal issue - also that RYM's poor financial condition has resulted in its failure to publish a paper. During early 1970, RYM has decided to cater to the working class rather than youth, since the potential for social revolution lies in workers.

A third source has stated that it was decided at the March, 1970, NSC meeting that RYM women had decided the organization will be molded into a "working class, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, pro-black nationalist, people's women's liberation organization."

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WEATHERMAN~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Initially called the "Action Faction," Weatherman came into being immediately before the June, 1969 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention (NC). At this NC Weatherman won all three national officer positions and a majority of the National Interim Committee as well. Subsequently, they took over the SDS National Office (NO) in Chicago, and controlled its funds, paper and national records. Although internal struggle existed until late 1969, Weatherman for all major purposes controlled SDS nationally from June, 1969, until its NO closed in February, 1970. At this time it no longer considered itself part of SDS.

The term Weatherman emerged from an ideological paper prepared by its leaders entitled, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," ("New Left Notes," June 18, 1969). This statement outlined the basic stance of Weatherman: Marxist-Leninist in content but with strong advocacy that action not theory would bring about revolution in the United States. This posture was complemented with an international identification to the Cuban revolution and CASTRO's statement that the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution.

During October, 1969, Weatherman riots in Chicago resulted in more than 260 arrests for mob action and related charges. A program of armed struggle was finalized during a December, 1969, "War Council" wherein terrorist tactics and political assassination were contemplated. The basic strength of Weatherman was then revealed to be some 300-350 nationally and geographically apportioned to the Midwest, New York, and some Northwest.

As its rhetoric of violence escalated, Weatherman leaders increasingly discussed the necessity of an underground operation wherein more than 90 percent of the organization would be submerged; "affinity groups" of three - five members would function independently. In February, 1970, Weatherman leaders announced a program of "strategic sabotage" with police and military installations as primary targets.

In February, 1970, Weatherman abandoned the SDS NO, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and throughout the country entered an underground status.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE/PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised during August, 1969, that at the National Convention (NC) of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held in Chicago, Illinois, during June, 1969, a split arose between the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the National Office (NO), the NO becoming known as the Weatherman faction. The PLP faction drew the largest support among those in attendance at the NO.

Source further advised that during late Summer, 1969, the PLP faction of SDS established its National Headquarters (NH) on the second floor of a loft-type building at 173-A Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The campaign on which the PLP faction centered was to build a worker student alliance or a campus worker student alliance. Thus, they adopted the names of Worker Student Alliance (WSA) or Campus Worker Student Alliance.

Source stated that the "New Left Notes," printed in New York City, is the official publication of the WSA faction.

A second source advised during January, 1970, that within the SDS, the WSA is a caucus of which the PLP constitutes the leadership.

A third source advised during July, 1970, that during demonstrations staged in the Boston area during the Spring and Summer of 1970 by the NH, the main theme of previous demonstrations staged by the NH shifted from protestations of the Vietnam War and other United States foreign policy matters to attacking domestic issues such as racism and unemployment and demonstrating support of the "workers' struggle."

APPENDIX

TO: SAC:

Albany       Houston       Oklahoma City  
 Albuquerque       Indianapolis       Omaha  
 Alexandria       Jackson       Philadelphia  
 Anchorage       Jacksonville       Phoenix  
 Atlanta       Kansas City       Pittsburgh  
 Baltimore       Knoxville       Portland  
 Birmingham       Las Vegas       Richmond  
 Boston       Little Rock       Sacramento  
 Buffalo       Los Angeles       St. Louis  
 Butte       Louisville       Salt Lake City  
 Charlotte       Memphis       San Antonio  
 Chicago       Miami       San Diego  
 Cincinnati       Milwaukee       San Francisco  
 Cleveland       Minneapolis       San Juan  
 Columbia       Mobile       Savannah  
 Dallas       Newark       Seattle  
 Denver       New Haven       Springfield  
 Detroit       New Orleans       Tampa  
 El Paso       New York City       Washington Field  
 Honolulu       Norfolk       Quantico

TO LEGAT:

Beirut       Bern       Bonn  
 Brasilia       Buenos Aires       Caracas  
 Hong Kong       London       Madrid  
 Manila       Mexico City       Ottawa  
 Paris       Rome       Singapore  
 Tel Aviv       Tokyo

Date May 28, 1975

RE:

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)**  
**1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE, N.W.**  
**WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Retention      For appropriate  
 For information       optional       action       Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
 The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report,  conceal all  
sources,  paraphrase contents.  
 Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_  
dated \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

Re. SF report, 4/29/71.

Declassify report.

LJB/Hac

file copy

Enc. 100-447935  
Bufile WFO 100-46784  
Urfile SF 100-61761

b6  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/1/21 BY [signature]

b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation

May 28, 1975

Director of Special Investigations  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Forrestal Building  
Washington, D. C. 20314

- 1. For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be of interest to you.
- 2. It will be appreciated if you will have the investigation conducted as requested in the enclosed memorandum and furnish the results.
- 3. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- 4. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- 5. Please note change in caption of this case.

6. Status of case: **CONTAINED** Completed  Incomplete

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/80 BY [redacted]

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b7C

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

NOTE: Please declassify report captioned  
"Institute for Policy Studies, 1520  
New Hampshire, N.W., Washington, D.C.  
Internal Security-Miscellaneous." It  
was classified confidential and sent  
to your office 5/10/71.

Enc.

LQB/tae

File copy  
JLBS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

SF 100-61761

San Francisco, California

April 29, 1971

Title                    INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
                          1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE, N.W.  
                          WASHINGTON, D.C.

Character            INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Reference            Report of SA [redacted]  
                          dated and captioned as above,  
                          at San Francisco, California.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~U - INITIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Federal Bureau of Investigation

July 15, 1975

Director of Special Investigations  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Forrestal Building  
Washington, D. C. 20314

- 1. For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~.
- 2. It will be appreciated if you will have the investigation conducted as requested in the enclosed memorandum and furnish the results.
- 3. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- 4. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- 5. Please note change in caption of this case.
- 6. Status of case:     Completed     Incomplete

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

NOTE: Please declassify memorandum captioned "Cambridge Institute, Internal Security-Miscellaneous." It is dated 5/10/71 at Boston, Massachusetts, and was classified Confidential.

Enc.

LJB/tae  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/80  
File copy

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b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935) **CONFIDENTIAL** DATE: 5/12/71

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-7852) (P)

SUBJECT: *F. H. H.*  
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W. APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. AND BUREAU  
IS - MISC  
OO: WFO

OVERLIE  
EX-104

*Initials* declassification  
DATE 12/6/77

Re Atlanta letter to the Bureau, 11/30/70; WFO letter to the Bureau, 1/13/71; and O-1 form dated 4/15/71, as received from the Bureau.

Referenced WFO letter indicates that Institute for Southern Studies (ISS) (under which name Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) appears to be operating in the South) was issued another check by IPS, Washington, D. C., during December, 1970, this check in the amount of \$1,000.

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*Initials* advised on 2/18/71, that [redacted] were identified among approximately 15 individuals who were in attendance at a meeting of the Angela Davis Defense Committee, held at the Edgewood Y.W.C.A. Building, Atlanta, Georgia, on the evening of 2/17/71. This source has stated that [redacted] are attempting to operate ISS in Atlanta, and had previously identified [redacted] as an individual associated with ISS, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta. (U)

Source said that Angela Davis Defense Committee in Atlanta is predominantly white, and was meeting on 2/17/71, to plan for the raising of funds for the defense of DAVIS, which monies raised were to be sent to the Black Panther Party. (U)

Same source advised on 3/11/71, that, as of that period, the ISS seemed to have increased its activity in Atlanta. Source indicated that the organization appeared to have informal relationships with [redacted] both of whom were not formally employed at the Institute but

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2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - WFO (100-46784)  
2 - Atlanta  
GRM:pab CLASS. & EX-104  
(6) DATE OF REVIEW 5/12/77

b6

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b7E

5 MAY 17 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly under Payroll Savings Plan

**CONFIDENTIAL**

5 MAY 21 1971

EX-104

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite 5/28/75 NEW



5010-108

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

apparently expected to be formally employed by the organization. ISS had obviously some small financial backing, according to source, and was seeking foundation sources to expand its operation. Source further indicated the Institute continued to have as its main focus research on Southern problems, especially research concerning military industrial spending. (U)

Source has identified [redacted] as an [redacted]

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[redacted] and has further advised that [redacted] was [redacted]

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On 4/2/71, [redacted] commonly known as [redacted]

[redacted] visited the office of ISS, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, according to source who furnished information on date of said visit. (U)

Source also advised in April, 1971, that ISS was, during that month, making plans to demonstrate against Gulf Oil Corporation at a GOC stock holders' meeting, to be held in Atlanta, on 4/27/71. ISS was planning on building demonstration participation through the utilization of persons from outside the Atlanta area, according to source, and planned to infiltrate the stock holders' meeting through the use of proxies, and intending to disrupt the meeting, create confusion and possibly conduct picketing action outside the meeting. (U)

[redacted] advised on 4/27/71, that [redacted] of ISS had, on 4/16/71, indicated that Atlanta area people who disagree with Gulf's involvement in Africa were then securing proxies so that they could attend the annual Gulf Oil Corporation stock holders' meeting to make their views known. Source also indicated that he had observed pamphlets and booklets at the office of ISS, same concerning U. S. industrial involvement in Africa, these observations having been made about January or February, 1971. (U)

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[redacted] Gulf Oil Corporation, Houston, Texas, advised on 4/27/71, that on said date, at its annual stock holders' meeting held at the Alliance Theater in Atlanta, Georgia, a group of persons

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TO: SAC:

Albany       Houston  
 Albuquerque       Indianapolis  
 Alexandria       Jackson  
 Anchorage       Jacksonville  
 Atlanta       Kansas City  
 Baltimore       Knoxville  
 Birmingham       Las Vegas  
 Boston       Little Rock  
 Buffalo       Los Angeles  
 Butte       Louisville  
 Charlotte       Memphis  
 Chicago       Miami  
 Cincinnati       Milwaukee  
 Cleveland       Minneapolis  
 Columbia       Mobile  
 Dallas       Newark  
 Denver       New Haven  
 Detroit       New Orleans  
 El Paso       New York City  
 Honolulu       Norfolk

Oklahoma City       Omaha  
 Philadelphia       Phoenix  
 Pittsburgh       Portland  
 Richmond       Sacramento  
 St. Louis       Salt Lake City  
 San Antonio       San Diego  
 San Francisco       San Juan  
 San Savannah       Seattle  
 Springfield       Tampa  
 Washington Field       Quantico

TO LEGAT:  
 Beirut       Bern  
 Bonn       Brasilia  
 Buenos Aires       Caracas  
 Hong Kong       London  
 Madrid       Manila  
 Mexico City       Ottawa  
 Paris       Rome  
 Singapore       Tel Aviv  
 Tokyo

RE:

Date May 28, 1975

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IS - MISC**

For information       optional  action       Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
 The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report,  conceal all sources,  paraphrase contents.  
 Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

Re AT letter 5/32/71.

Classify relet Confidential per 3347, Category 2, Indefinite, as of 5/28/75.

LJB /tgc

file copy

Enc.

Bufile

130-447935

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Urfile

AT 100-7852

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

WFO 100-46784

DATE 5/10/75

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

utilizing proxies, publicly identified themselves as "Southern Africa Task Force of United Presbyterian Church", urged stock holders' support to investigate Gulf involvement in Portuguese Africa. They alleged the Gulf Oil Corporation helps maintain colonial oppression of blacks in Africa, and that its activities may have an oppressive affect on human rights and liberty. During the nomination period for election to the Gulf Board of Directors, it was alleged Gulf has no minority representation on its Board of Directors, and the group nominated several Negroes for positions on the Board, according to [redacted]. It was also noted that two persons had to be forcibly removed from the meeting after being ruled out of order by the chairman when they insisted on pursuing a discussion concerning Gulf supporting an alleged Portuguese dictatorship in Angola which results in alleged oppression and exploitation of Africans, and who declined to relinquish the microphone.

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[redacted] also advised that approximately 20-25 demonstrators gathered near the entrance to the Alliance Theater prior to and during the stock holders' meeting to stage a "guerrilla theater" during which skits were performed allegedly to show that "Gulf kills" in Africa.

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[redacted] on 4/27/71, advised that he observed [redacted] among those who were located near the entrance to the Gulf Oil Corporation stock holders' meeting on 4/27/71. (U)

Atlanta is continuing to follow the activities of the Institute for Policy Studies, also known as Institute for Southern Studies, in the Atlanta area.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-10  
DOH INTELL DIV.

MAY 19 2 33 PM '71

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

REFS NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISES MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE S-62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

62-116464-214

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. /

DATE 11/14/75

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED OWS: RE MARTIN H. R. KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 10-11-1971

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 5/24/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
SM - MISCELLANEOUS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
- (S) OF *Classified*

Re Bureau letter dated 4/27/71 and WFO LHM dated  
2/19/71.

WFO believes that the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) is the heart, brains and driving force behind the New Left movement in this country. IPS has formulated five year plans to radicalize the thinking of the American public, concentrating on our young people. Seventeen telephone lines service IPS and it is understood that IPS is in contact with every college in the country. There has also been some indication that IPS may have contributed financially to the recent May Day demonstrations in Washington, D.C., which were in sore financial trouble. It also appears that IPS may have an illegal arm as well as a legal one. WFO needs a discreet lookout to determine if the above assessment is correct and to conduct an in depth survey of IPS.

Lookout possibilities are almost non existent in the neighborhood of IPS due to the fact that it is zoned for professional organizations and all appropriate space is rented, mostly by law firms. It is agreed that \$375 per month is a high rent to pay for a lookout

[redacted] represents: the most discreet and best coverage of IPS. WFO does not intend to confine this investigation to a lookout operation, but it is believed the investigation should begin there. With better coverage of IPS, it is expected that WFO will be in a position to ascertain New Left activities long in advance as well as possible illegal IPS involvement. The Bureau is requested to reconsider WFO's proposed rental of the lookout premises

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
WHEN SHOWN OR OTHERWISE

1 - CEC RM 924

2 - Bureau

1 - WFO

RWF:cmp

(3)

REC 43

16 MAY 25 1971

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Buy DATE OF PAYMENTS REGULARLY TO THE PAYROLL SAVINGS PLAN



5010-108-01

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 6/1/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784)(P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IS - MISC  
(OO:WFO)

FILED

Re WFO report of SA [REDACTED] 10/16/70,  
captioned as above; San Francisco report of SA [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] 4/29/71, captioned as above; and San Francisco  
letter to Bureau, 1/20/71, captioned [REDACTED] SM-MISC.

b6  
b7C

Review of referenced WFO report dated 10/16/70  
fails to disclose any indication of [REDACTED] having re-  
sided in San Francisco and reference to her was made only  
in the context of having furnished information pertaining  
to establishment of Bay Area Institute. Therefore, no full  
security investigation concerning her is warranted by San  
Francisco and no letter is being submitted by WFO under  
[REDACTED] case caption setting out data pertaining to her.

b7D

2 - Bureau ST 101 REC 4  
4 - San Francisco (100-61761)(RM)  
(1-100-69056)(Bay Area Institute)  
(1-100-56191) [REDACTED]  
1 - WFO

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JAV:dl1  
(7)

JUN 24 1971  
REDOX

4 JUN 2 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/08 BY [REDACTED]

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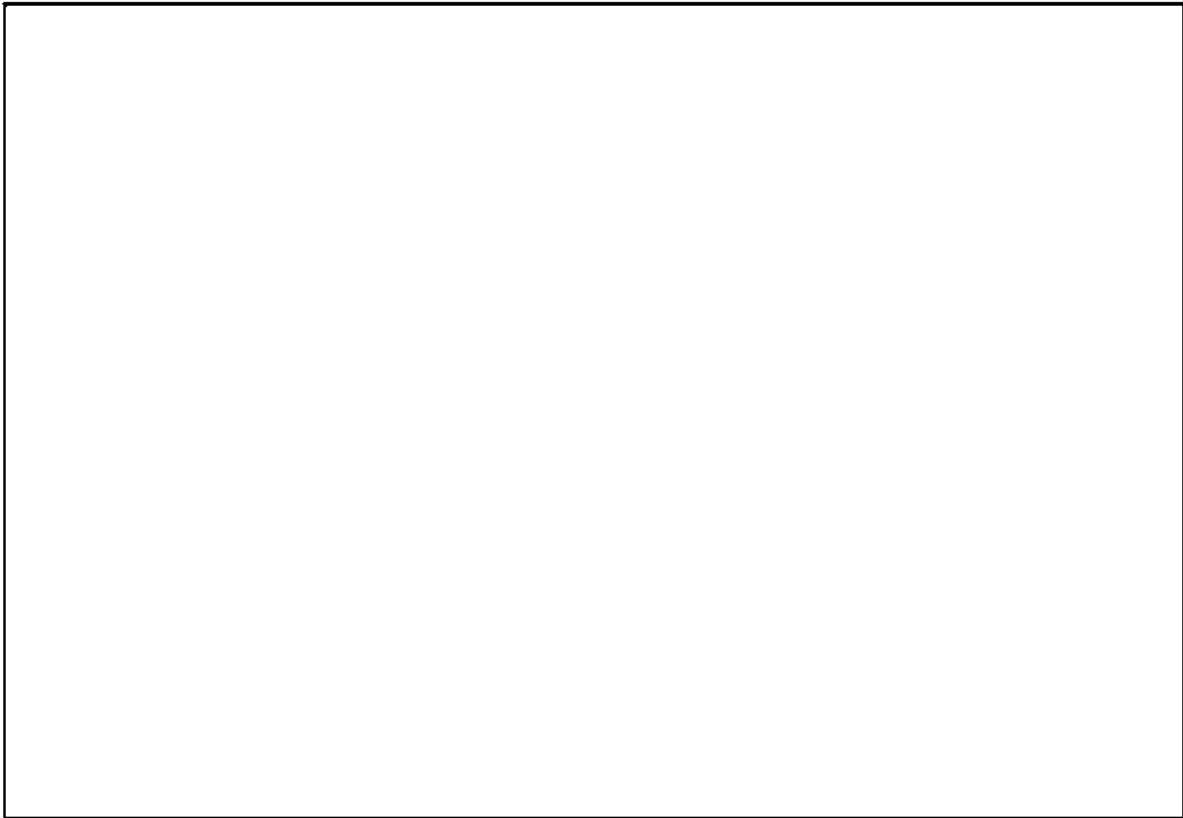
70 JUN 25 1971  
F-49

14 JUN 2 1971  
NAM/LE



WFO 100-46784)

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CONFIDENTIAL  
The above information is confidential and should not  
be made public without issuance of a subpoena duces tecum



Investigation re IFS continuing at Washington D.C.

BUFILE 100-106670

UNPINTED DIV.

JUN 16 4 44 PM '71

JUN 15 12 09 PM '71

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.   
NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISES MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE S-62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

62-116444-214

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DATE \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

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DEL.

DATE 11/14/71

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT. DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

TO DEPT.

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SEN\*TR\*  
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SSC 62-116395-842

HSC 62-116464-214

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DATE 11/16/75

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TO DEPT.

20 DIRECTOR

DOM INTELL DIV.

JUN 17 4 24 PM '71  
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F. B. I.

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REC'D SULLIVAN  
FBI JUSTICE

REC'D BRENNAN  
FBI JUSTICE

JUN 17 4 32 PM '71

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SSC \_\_\_\_\_ HSC 62-116464-24  
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\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

TO: S &amp; C:

Albany       Houston  
 Albuquerque       Indianapolis  
 Alexandria       Jackson  
 Anchorage       Jacksonville  
 Atlanta       Kansas City  
 Baltimore       Knoxville  
 Birmingham       Las Vegas  
 Boston       Little Rock  
 Buffalo       Los Angeles  
 Butte       Louisville  
 Charlotte       Memphis  
 Chicago       Miami  
 Cincinnati       Milwaukee  
 Cleveland       Minneapolis  
 Columbia       Mobile  
 Dallas       Newark  
 Denver       New Haven  
 Detroit       New Orleans  
 El Paso       New York City  
 Honolulu       Norfolk

Oklahoma City       Omaha  
 Philadelphia       Phoenix  
 Pittsburgh       Portland  
 Richmond       Sacramento  
 St. Louis       Salt Lake City  
 San Antonio       San Diego  
 San Francisco       San Juan  
 Savannah       Seattle  
 Springfield       Tampa  
 Washington Field       Quantico

TO LÉGAT:

Beirut       Bern  
 Bonn       Brasilia  
 Buenos Aires       Caracas  
 Hong Kong       London  
 Madrid       Manila  
 Mexico City       Ottawa  
 Paris       Rome  
 Singapore       Tel Aviv  
 Tokyo

Date May 28, 1975

RE:

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Retention      For appropriate  
 For information       optional       action       Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
 The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report,  conceal all  
sources,  paraphrase contents.  
 Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_  
dated \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

Re. Bu Airtel to WFO, et al, 7/12/71.

Classify airtel ~~Secret~~ ~~No Foreign Dissemination~~  
~~/NO Dissemination Abroad~~, per 3347, Category 2,  
Indefinite, as of 5/28/75.

LJ3/1ac

File 0241

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/13/01 BY [Signature]

Enc.

Bufile 100-447935

Urfile

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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PURPOSE:

To request authority for WFO to expend \$375 per month for a 90-day period for the rental of space for an observation post on the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).

BACKGROUND:

IPS has been characterized as the "Think Factory" of the New Left which helps train extremists who incite violence and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Continued investigation of IPS as a New Left subversive organization was recommended as was an expansion of this investigation beyond contacts with established sources in January, 1971. This was approved by the Director.

IPS leaders are all on Priority I of the Security Index and are involved in the activities of several other New Left groups.

research on security procedures used by American industries, travel to North Vietnam and conferences with North Vietnamese officials, support of disruptive demonstrations and advocacy of abolition of the FBI, Secret Service, and other Government intelligence agencies.

Persons suspected of involvement in two embassy bombings in Washington, D. C., in 1970 have closely associated with IPS. Additionally, several Bureau fugitives who are New Left activists have apparently had IPS contacts. Two of these are directly involved in a bank robbery and murder and the third is a Weatherman fugitive under indictment for violation of antiriot laws.

Enclosure sent 7-9-71

100-447935

1 - [REDACTED] (6221 IB)

WGD:jlm (9)

WGD:jlm (9)

60JUL161971

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale  
1 - Mr. J. A. Rosen

DATE: 7/8/71

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

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Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Leaver \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_ b6  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_ b7C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS  
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RE: "H. MOHR  
ET AL."

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

L. B. LUNAN

JOURNAL OF POLITICAL

JUL 3 1983 33 P.M. '71

6 AUGUST 1971

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REC'D SULLIVAN  
FBI JUSTICE  
9-10 51 AM 1971

July 11, 1971

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LEGAL COUNSEL

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SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISES MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

ACC.    DATE    ACC.    DATE    HSC 61-116464-244

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE 11/14/75  
MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSG RE MARTIN LUTH C IR. WERF ALSO UNN. HLD  
TO STATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT. DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

REINHOLD FENNAN

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.  
100-447935

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Information received recently indicates [redacted]

[redacted] is very friendly with persons associated with IPS. Additionally, it has been reported that IPS is well along the way to having a book published on the Vietnam study documents.

[redacted] recent militant demonstrations in Washington, D. C., said in January, 1971, that IPS had donated \$1,000 to him. IPS officials also reportedly are part of a message network to Paris and North Vietnam according to statements made by [redacted] in February, 1971.

OBSERVATIONS:

IPS apparently exercises considerable influence in the New Left movement and may have as its goal the destruction of the U.S. Government, as presently constituted, by other than lawful means.

Informant coverage of IPS to date has provided information of considerable value but sources have not been able to penetrate the top echelon where planning and strategy take place. It is felt that employment of an observation post to identify visitors to IPS would enable WFO to target selected individuals who have access to top-level information for development as informants.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel be sent to WFO authorizing expenditure of \$375 per month for rental of lookout space on IPS, for a period of 90 days.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7/9/71

Airtel

EX-105

To: SAC, WFO (100-46784) REC-50

From: Director, FBI (100-447935)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale  
1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - [redacted]

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86 APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FEDERAL OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF Class  
DATE 7-16-810

Reurairtel 6/30/71 and report of SA [redacted]  
[redacted] dated 6/29/71, both captioned as above. u

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Bureau authority is granted for WFO to expend \$375 per month for 90 days for the rental of an observation post on captioned facility. Two weeks prior to the expiration of this authority, submit your recommendation regarding the continuation of this lookout coverage. Include information in your recommendation showing tangible results developed. u

Insure that the utmost discretion is utilized in the employment of this lookout and take no action which will result in embarrassment to the Bureau. u

1 - [redacted] (6221 IB)

WGD:jlm

(11)

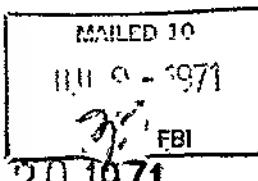
NOTE: INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/9/91 BY [redacted]

CLASS. & EXTR. BY 5-13-86  
REASON-FRM 11. 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 7/9/91

16

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See memorandum R. L. Shackelford to Mr. C. D. Brennan dated 7/8/71, captioned as above, prepared by WGD:jlm. u



MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
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~~SECRET~~  
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F.B.I.

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE [REDACTED] 03 [REDACTED] '71  
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NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISES MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC HSC 62-116464-214  
ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ DEL. ✓ DATE 1/14/75

MISC. DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
NOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 160-108670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

TO DEPT.

~~7/11/80-11:00~~



DUM B-FALL DIV.

JUL 26 10 53 AM '71

SENSTUDY 75

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TO DEPT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 7/29/71

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-8773) (C)

SUBJECT: ~~INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES  
SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION PLANNED  
AT STOCKHOLDERS MEETING,  
GULF OIL CORPORATION,  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
4/27/71  
IS - MISC~~

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*OInstitut - For  
Policy - Ju 1.*

Re Atlanta teletypes to Bureau, 4/21/71 and  
4/27/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and  
ten copies and for WFO two copies of an LHM, dated and  
captioned as above.

Sources referred to in LHM are identified as  
follows:

17D

Source one is [redacted]  
Source two is [redacted]  
Source three is [redacted]

(U)

2 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM) *SI-117*  
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)  
11 - Atlanta  
(1 - 100-8773)  
(1 - 100-7852) (ISS)  
(1 - 157-621) [redacted]  
(1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)  
(1 - 100-7925)  
(1 - 100-7296)  
(1 - 100-7018)  
(1 - 100-7248)  
(1 - 100-7371)  
(1 - 100-8762)  
(1 - 100-8729)

REC-71

*100-447935-89*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF *CLASS*  
DATE *2/16/71*  
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AGENCY GSA, ACSI [redacted] HON, STATE, RRC (ISO)  
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DATE OF REVIEW 7/29/71

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AUG 9 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Atlanta, Georgia

July 29, 1971

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INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES  
SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION PLANNED  
AT STOCKHOLDERS MEETING,  
GULF OIL CORPORATION,  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
APRIL 27, 1971

----- (U) -----

In April, 1971, a source advised that persons associated with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Five Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia, were formulating plans to demonstrate against Gulf Oil Corporation at its annual stockholders meeting at Atlanta on April 27, 1971. These plans included infiltration of the stockholders meeting through use of proxies in an effort to cause disruption and confusion within the meeting and possibly conduct a picketing action outside the meeting. (U)

This source had advised in July, 1970, that IPS had opened an office at Five Forsyth Street in Atlanta and thereafter reported that IPS was allegedly studying the effects of war on the southern economy, that it was conducting research on war-related industries in the South, and that its purpose was to identify war-related industrial contractors in the Atlanta area to determine the extent of the part played by these contractors in what they termed the "military industrial complex". (U)

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

16-1471-89  
ENCLOSURE

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INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES  
SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION PLANNED  
AT STOCKHOLDERS MEETING,  
GULF OIL CORPORATION,  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
APRIL 27, 1971

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(U) In February, 1971, this source reported that the Atlanta IPS was affiliated with the IPS headquartered in Washington, D. C., and in Atlanta this group was being referred to as the Institute for Southern Studies (ISS). Ga.

The Institute for Policy Studies has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D. C. weekly newspaper, "The Examiner." She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

A lengthy article in the April 19, 1971, issue of "The Great Speckled Bird", an Atlanta New Left underground newspaper, purportedly based upon data compiled by the ISS from reports by the "American Committee on Africa" and that "Committee of Returned Volunteers", announced the proposed demonstration against Gulf Oil Corporation to the public and advised that same will commence at 10:00 A. M., April 27, 1971, at the Alliance Theater, 15th and Peachtree Streets, location of the Gulf stockholders meeting. The article indicated the action will be the focus for several groups working against United States-supported racism and colonialism in Africa, and charged that, through its operations in Portuguese colonies in Africa, Gulf is "a principal bulwark and profiteer of the white man's control of Africa". It indicated the Southern Africa Task Force of the United Presbyterian Church, backed by a number of individual and institutional stockholders, has included four proposals on the meeting's agenda, all opposed by Gulf management, which proposals are (1) to establish a committee to examine Gulf's involvement in Portuguese Africa; (2) to disclose Gulf's "charitable gifts"; (3) to enlarge

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the Board of Directors to represent the interest of people affected by Gulf; and (4) to terminate Gulf's operations in colonial ruled areas. ISS states supporters of the proposals "will be inside and outside the meeting to make sure the issues are dealt with--issues of third world colonialism and racism, of multinational corporations' accountability to human needs.

In April, 1971, a second source advised that a meeting of the Atlanta Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) was held at the Atlanta University Complex on April 22, 1971. The primary purpose of this meeting was to generate support for a protest against Gulf Oil Corporation at its annual stockholders meeting in Atlanta. Approximately 25 persons attended this meeting. The discussion concerned Gulf's involvement in oil production in Portuguese Africa and off the coast of Vietnam. ~~(U)~~

SOBU was formed in 1969 at Greensboro, North Carolina, with the basic aim to initiate, coordinate, and lead a black student movement in the United States. During May, 1969, an organizational convention was held, attended by well-known black militants from the eastern part of the United States.

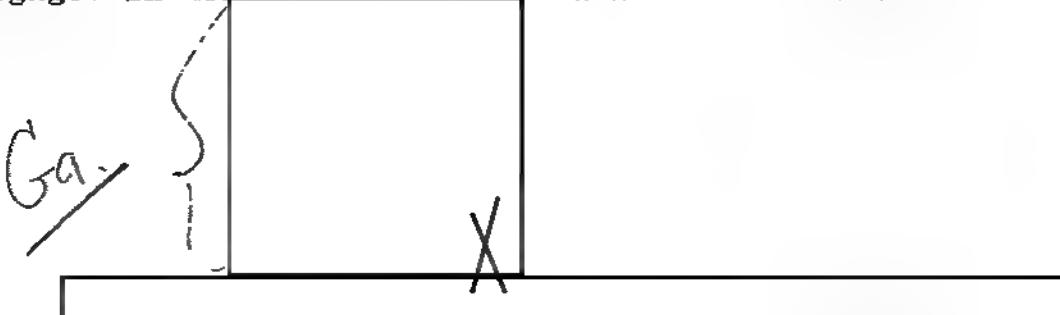
This second source advised that on April 24, 1971, approximately 20-25 persons met at the Atlanta University Complex to attend an address presented by a representative of Angola who discussed the relationship of Gulf in Angola and with Portugal and gave a brief history of Portugal and its involvement in Angola. During the course of his presentation, he noted that he is in the United States attempting to solicit financial, political and moral support for the citizens of Angola. ~~(U)~~

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APRIL 27, 1971

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This second source further advised that on April 26, 1971, Atlanta SOBU met at the Atlanta University Complex with some 35-55 persons present. This meeting prompted further discussion concerning Gulf and its involvement in Angola. The purpose of this meeting was to further establish support for protest against Gulf and additionally to show a film concerning Angola. The movie projector was not properly functioning, however, and most attendees dispersed without viewing this film. ~~(U)~~ (U)

On April 27, 1971, a third source reported that on the morning of April 27, 1971, approximately 15-25 persons gathered outside the entrance to the Alliance Theater where Gulf was scheduled to conduct its annual stockholders meeting. This group "leafleted" persons attending the stockholders meeting. These leaflets concerned Gulf's presence in Angola which presence was allegedly called racist and supportive of the Portuguese Government to the detriment of Angolans. Those Atlantans recognized as being present and engaged in leafleting were identified as follows:



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Gulf Oil Corporation, Houston, Texas, advised on April 27, 1971, that on the same date Gulf Oil held its annual stockholders meeting at the Alliance Theater in Atlanta, Georgia, from 10:30 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. This meeting was described as orderly with only exceptions being two persons forcibly removed from the meeting who were ruled out of order by the chairman and who insisted on pursuing the discussion concerning Gulf supporting alleged Portuguese dictatorship in Angola, which results in oppression and exploitation of Africans, and who declined to relinquish the microphone.

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GULF OIL CORPORATION,  
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APRIL 27, 1971

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[redacted] further stated that during the course of the meeting a group of persons utilizing proxies publicly identified themselves as "Southern Africa Task Force" of United Presbyterian Church and urged stockholders' support to investigate Gulf involvement in Portuguese Africa, alleging Gulf helps maintain colonial oppression of blacks in Africa and its activities may have an oppressive effect on human rights and liberty. During the nomination period for the election to the Gulf Board of Directors, it was alleged Gulf has no minority representation on the Board of Directors, after which time several Negroes were nominated for the Board including [redacted]

[redacted] Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, Georgia. It was indicated that anti-management stockholders, including "Southern Africa Task Force" officially furnished microphone time to address the body concerning issues of interest.

[redacted] External Security Unit, Atlanta Police Department, advised on April 27, 1971, that no incidents of violence or arrests occurred in connection with the Gulf meetings. He further noted that at approximately 10:00 A. M., 20-25 demonstrators gathered near the entrance to the Alliance Theater where they distributed anti-Gulf Oil leaflets. At approximately 10:15 A. M., demonstrators staged a "guerrilla theater" where skits were performed allegedly to show that "Gulf kills" in Africa. Demonstrators remained at the entrance until the conclusion of the stockholders meeting at approximately 12:30 P. M., after which time demonstrators as well as stockholders dispersed.

An article which appeared in the morning edition of the "Atlanta Constitution" dated April 28, 1971, written by Gene Tharpe, Constitution Business Editor, entitled "Gulf Shareholders Veto Protest", is set forth as follows:

# Gulf Shareholders Veto Protest

By GENE THARPE

Constitution Business Editor

The chairman of Gulf Oil Corp. said charges made against it Tuesday during the giant company's annual meeting in Atlanta were "untrue and unrealistic."

Gulf was accused of assisting in the "suppression" of Angolans and "helping kill" them in their "struggle for freedom."

E. D. Brockett, Gulf chairman, denied the charges and others made against the company during the meeting.

An estimated 600 persons attended the meeting in the Alliance Theatre of the Memorial Arts Center. It was the first time Gulf had held its annual meeting here.

Brockett, during his formal speech to the stockholders, said Gulf's consolidated net income for the first quarter rose to \$146.2 million or 70 cents per share, up from \$139.2 million or 67 cents per share a year ago. For 1970, Gulf's income was down by almost 10 per cent.

Gulf's directors also declared a regular quarterly cash dividend of 37½ cents per share payable June 10 to stockholders of record May 7.

Angola is a Portuguese-controlled country in southern Africa where a guerrilla fight for independence has been going on since the early 1960s.

Gulf, the fourth largest oil company, has \$130 million invested in oil exploration and production in Angola, and pays taxes and fees to the Angolan government.

Abel Guimarré, president of the Angolan Student Union of America, said these taxes and fees help support a Portuguese army which is "helping to kill Angolan men, women and children."

Before the meeting, a group of demonstrators marched to the beat of drums outside the center's entrance. During the meeting, two speakers were ejected from the theatre when they refused to yield the floor after being ruled out of order.

The discussion centered on four resolutions of protest which appeared in the proxy statement, and which were sponsored by the Southern Africa Task Force of the United Presbyterian Church.

The resolutions sought:

1. To establish a committee to examine Gulf's involvement in Portuguese Africa;
2. To disclose Gulf's charitable gifts;
3. To enlarge the board of directors to represent the interests of people affected by Gulf;
4. To terminate Gulf's operations in colonial-ruled areas.

About 20 persons, some speaking for themselves but most representing a religious or minority organization, spoke in support of the resolutions.

Josiah Beeman, field director for the Presbyterian group, said Gulf's investment in Angola "contributed to the suppression of desire for self-government by Angolans."

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The Rev. Andrew Young of Atlanta urged Gulf to use its "tremendous economic power" to bring "peaceful" change in the world.

Another speaker, who identified himself as an Angolan student attending an American university, said he could not understand why American citizens would permit any Gulf money to be used "to kill any of my people."

"This is 'inconceivable,'" he said, when "all over the world there are tombs of American soldiers who died so others would be free."

All four resolutions were defeated, with approximately 10 million shares voted against each one and between 1 and 2 million shares voted for each one.

The Gulf management urged stockholders to defeat the resolutions because they did not represent the best interests of the corporation.

Gulf said its presence in Angola benefited the people by providing jobs and education.

The basic question, Gulf said in a prepared statement, is this:

"Does an American corporation have any right to attempt to intrude in the political affairs of another nation? . . . The officers and directors of Gulf Oil Corp. believe we do not have that right nor should we ever have it."

Several nominations for Gulf's board of directors were made from the floor, including two Africans, Dr. Augustino Neto, president of the Angolan liberation effort, and Amilcar Cabral, an agronomist from Guinea.

Also nominated from the floor was black militant Angela Davis, now awaiting trial in California. She was nominated by a bearded youth who described her as a "beautiful girl."

Miss Davis received more than 15,000 votes, not enough to win. None of the nominees from the floor was elected.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

July 29, 1971

Title	INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION PLANNED AT STOCKHOLDERS MEETING, GULF OIL CORPORATION, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
XXXXXX	APRIL 27, 1971
Reference	Memorandum prepared at Atlanta, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 5/13/01

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_ b6  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_ b7C

*14 JUL 1971*

RA  
Perry Willie

Was Connector

What's Wrong with Vietnam?

THE FLASH of interest in the Pentagon Papers is surprising. The documents have been published by Bentley Books and a cynic in our business might well claim that an issue is journalistic duff since it has had time to "mold" between the covers of a book — even a "quality" paper back's cover.

There is a feeling, now, that the whole thing was overblown. Its importance exaggerated. Polls, as usual, show that a great leap of the people have cared enough to figure out what the Pentagon Papers are. Most of the staff in the Papers was already known or guessed at. The "lies" probably overstated the case against Johnson. What wonder will rip the next nine days?

This attitude is understandable, but mistaken. The Papers did give a psychic jolt to many, at least to those with political interests. i.e. these are precisely the ones who should have known (in general) —

What's what we believed, or wanted to believe. And nothing could be farther from the truth. No war was so consciously studied, manipulated, scrutinized, controlled.

JOHNSON PROBABLY did not consciously lie in the 1964 campaign — he wanted to avoid war, and thought he could. Still, his rhetoric slipped over into falsehood; an Indochina War was out of the question. A vote against Goldwater was a vote against any such war, and would end the war.

For a whole year the Institute of Policy Studies has been conducting a study of the Vietnam decisions. It will be published in two volumes as "The Planning of the Vietnam War." It uses the Pentagon Papers, but goes beyond them, interviewing many principals in the decision-making process. A portion of the first volume appears in the current New York Review of Books, and should be read very carefully.

The study's editor, Ralph Slavins, shows how President Kennedy reacted to the

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The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
National Observer \_\_\_\_\_

*JUL 27 1971*

*JUL 27 1971*

1 - Mr. W.R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. J.R. Wagoner  
1 - Mr. H.J. Morgan

Mr. W. R. Wannall

7/2/71

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H. J. Morgan

MC LEK  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

During interview of [redacted]

[redacted] on 6/15/71, he stated, among other things, that [redacted] is very friendly with persons associated with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, D. C. In addition, [redacted] stated he had been informed that a set of the task force papers seemed to be in circulation among "New Left types or that, at least some materials gleaned from the task force seem to be being leaked."

[redacted] was reinterviewed 7/2/71; however, he could not furnish the identities of any persons at the IPS who were friendly with [redacted]. He stated he had heard this from unrecalled persons.

Based on the above, a detailed file review was conducted concerning [redacted] without locating any information showing a tie-in by [redacted] with the IPS. This review included a serial-by-serial review of the IPS file, 100-447935.

It was noted during review of the IPS file that the Boston Office considers the Cambridge Institute, 56 Boylston Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, as being identical with the IPS branch in that city.

ACTION:

Boston is being instructed, by separate airtel to [redacted] be alert during its investigation for any connection [redacted] has had in the past or currently has with the Cambridge Institute or persons associated with that Institute. WFO is being likewise instructed with regard to IPS and its personnel.

Enclosure

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1 - 100-447935 (IPS)

100-447935-

NOT RECORDED

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1 - Mr. W.R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. J.R. Wagoner  
1 - Mr. H.J. Morgan

To: SAC, Boston [redacted]

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From: Director, FBI [redacted]

100-447935

MC LEK  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

During interview of [redacted]

[redacted] he stated that [redacted] was very friendly with persons associated with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, D. C. [redacted] has been unable to furnish the identities of any of these persons at IPS.

Boston is referred to its file 100-39531 concerning IPS and particularly, Boston letter 5/10/71 wherein it was stated Boston considered the Cambridge Institute as being identical with the IPS Institute in Cambridge.

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During course of instant investigation, Boston should be particularly alert for any information showing a current or past connection between [redacted] and the Cambridge Institute or persons connected with that Institute. In this regard, [redacted] additionally stated that he had been informed that a set of the task force papers seemed to be in circulation among "New Left types" or data from the task force papers seemed to have been leaked.

ORIGINAL

[redacted] WFO should be alert for any connection between [redacted] and IPS or its personnel.

2 - WFO [redacted]

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100-447935 (IPS)

HJM:dgo (8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/13/00 BY [signature]  
GSK/dp

NOTE:

See memorandum, H.J. Morgan to Mr. W.R. Wannall, same caption, dated 7/2/71, prepared by HJM:dgo.

2 JUL 13 1971